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THE
TOURIST'S GUIDE
TO



LUCKNOW.

Lucknow :

PRINTED AT THE LONDON PRINTING PRESS.

1891.

Price Rs. 2.

THE

TOURISTS' GUIDE TO LUCKNOW

IN FIVE PARTS.

PART I.—Contains a Brief History of Oudh and its rule, under the Native Government, up to time of the annexation of the Province, by the British, in 1856.

PART II.—Is a narrative of the startling events at Lucknow, in 1857, with a graphic account of the investment of the Residency.

PART III.—Is a short biography of the kings of Oudh.

PART IV.—Is a guide (with map) to places of interest in Lucknow other than the Residency.

PART V.—Is a guide to the Residency with plan of the intrenched position.

By one of the Beleaguered Garrison.


LUCKNOW:

PRINTED AT THE LONDON PRINTING PRESS.

1891.

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At Lucknow, to be had of Messrs. Murray & Co. and
Messrs. Peake, Allen & Co.



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PREFACE.

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1. At the solicitation of numerous friends, the writer was prevailed upon, some time back, to publish his reminiscences of the investment of the Residency at Lucknow during that memorable period known in Indian History as the sepoy revolt of 1857-58.

2. His narrative was subsequently printed and distributed to them in the form of a small pamphlet entitled "The Martinieri Boys in the Residency." In this the writer confined himself to merely depicting incidents in connection with the siege that had come under his personal observation. As might be expected, the Martinieri boys figured most prominently in his narrative seeing that he himself was then a student of the College.

3. From the reception it met with, he was encouraged to amplify the next edition by giving a fuller account of the siege supplemented by a short biography of the sovereigns of Oudh, including an account of the state of the Province under their rule up to the time of the annexation and the causes which led to it. This involved much labor, as it necessitated his obtaining, from various reliable sources, information which had to be collated before the work could be commenced.

4. While the work was in progress it was suggested, by friends, that its value would be greatly enhanced by also giving therein a description of the places of interest in Lucknow, thereby combining history and guide in the one book which would then be a desideratum. To meet their wishes, this was done; and the second edition was ultimately published under its original designation, which should not, however, have been retained, as it now became a misnomer and was misleading.

5. The increasing demand for the book has induced the compiler to embody, in the present edition, a guide to the Residency and plan of the intrenched position which is taken from the book published by the Reverend T. Moore, formerly Civil Chaplain of Lucknow, who most generously accorded his kind permission to the writer to make any use he liked of his book, and to whom he now returns his grateful thanks for same.

6. For the reasons already stated, the designation of this book has been changed to the title it now bears; and, in offering it to the public under its new name, he trusts that the indulgent reader will overlook any omissions and errors inseparable from the undertaking.

7. An estimate of the present edition can be formed by reading the "Opinions of the Press" on the previous editions as reproduced below.

EDWARD H. HILTON.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"The book entitled 'The Martinière Boys in the Residency' to which we referred the other day as having been presented by the author—Edward H. Hilton—to the Countess of Dufferin, on the occasion of Her Excellency's visit to the 'Residency,'—is now before us in a neat illustrated wrapper, displaying two of the most historical buildings in LUCKNOW, *viz.*, the College itself and the remnants of the house which gave its name to the British intrenched position during the ever memorable defence known as the most glorious of all the annals of British valor and renown in India. Mr. Hilton's book is a simple narrative of all that occurred in LUCKNOW during the eventful epoch of '57. He describes the outbreak of the Mutiny in the Oudh capital, and the protective measures that devolved on Sir Henry Lawrence in consequence of the same. The part taken by La Martinière Boys in the stirring incidents of the 5 months' siege, are described lucidly and truthfully by an eye-witness who was himself one of the beleaguered garrison. Mr. Hilton has done honor to himself and to his College in becoming the historian of events which show that the British school-boy is capable of vying with the bravest and best in the hour of danger and trial, and is willing to undergo privations and risk his life for the honor and glory of 'Old England!' The task undertaken from *esprit de corps* has been well performed, and is a noble tribute to *Alma Mater*. There is much that is original in the book interspersed among interesting excerpts from the best sources which make its pages attractive reading, and we commend the volume as a useful record of the period and events of which it treats. It embodies much within a small compass, and presents valuable information in a cheap and handy form. While no Martinière boy will be without a copy of the book, we believe it ought to find a place on the book-shelf of every Anglo-Indian having associations connected with the great Sepoy Rebellion. The style and get up make the book a suitable ornament for any drawing room table."

"THE MARTINIÈRE BOYS IN THE RESIDENCY."

"The above title seems somewhat a misnomer for what is really a very excellent LUCKNOW GUIDE and Tourists' *vade mecum*, of which a second edition has just been issued by Mr. E. Hilton, the author and compiler. True enough, the reminiscences of the 'Old Boy' of the Martinière form a very interesting chapter in the book, but it is now so amplified in many material respects that the brochure might very properly be re-named, and thus, perhaps, attract the 'globe-trotting' class more generally than it is apt to do under its present designation.

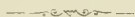
"We have noticed the previous edition, and now need merely say that the work is the very best of its kind that has hitherto been published, and although there are still some trifling errors of description, this veritable 'Guide' to the many notable buildings in Lucknow and neighbourhood cannot be too greatly commended for its general historical accuracy and the care which has evidently been taken to make it really useful to visitors to this celebrated city. There are some good illustrations, an interesting plan of the Residency grounds at the time of the beleaguering, and lithographed maps of Lucknow, the City, and Dilkusha Cantonment, all of which will prove very useful to visitors."

A contemporary thus describes the part taken, by the Martinière Boys, during the investment :—

“LA MARTINIÈRE COLLEGE.”

“The startling events of the mutiny of fifty-seven have made Lucknow a word which is not only a monument to the courage and endurance of those who there made a glorious defence against the overwhelming hosts of the fanatical enemies of England, but is also a lasting memorial of British power in India. The ‘Defence of the Residency’ is without parallel in Indian history. That building and the surrounding houses, forming a weak, irregular, and incomplete enclosure, were maintained for 5 months against fearful odds. This was the only spot then possessed by the British in the whole kingdom of Oudh, and the eyes of all India were anxiously turned towards the intrepid garrison till its partial relief was accomplished by General Havelock on the 25th September 1857. In the chain of posts which formed the British line of defence, the ‘Baillie Guard’ gate is, perhaps, that best known ; but the most perilous guard of this frail fortress was the terrible ‘Cawnpore-battery.’

“In close proximity to this post of danger was the position held bravely throughout the siege by sixty-five boys of the Martinière, who, in addition to military duty, gave general assistance as hospital attendants, signallers, and in a variety of other ways. Many of these noble little fellows grew to manhood, and are now members of the Oudh Rifle Volunteers. They were all decorated with the Mutiny Medal, and received a bar attached to it for the ‘Defence of Lucknow.’ ”



BUST OF GENERAL MARTIN WITH BIOGRAPHY SUBJOINED.

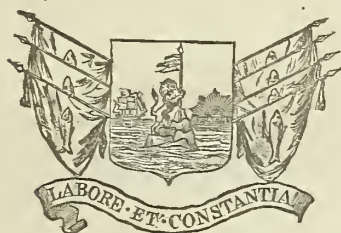
The following is a short biography of General Claude Martin, taken from the Principal's Report on the College at Lucknow, for the year ending 31st March 1883 :—



Claude Martin was born at Lyons on the 5th January 1735, his father being a cooper in that city. In his 20th year he joined the French Army as a common soldier and landed in India, under Count de Lally, in the stirring days of 1757. In 1761 he was taken prisoner by the English at Pondicherry and was sent to Bengal. After the conclusion of the war, he enlisted in the English Army, and we soon find him a cadet, and shortly afterwards in command of a number of his fellow countrymen, who, like himself, had engaged in the East India Company's service. During the reign of Asuf-ud-daulah, Captain Martin, with the approval of the Company, attached himself to the Court of Oudh, where he soon obtained complete influence over the Nabob Vizier, and became to all intents and purposes Prime Minister. By his tact and industry he succeeded in amassing a large fortune, but he still remained an officer of the Company, receiving his half pay and promotion to the day of his death (13th September 1800), being at that time a Major-General of the East India Company. He died possessed of more than four millions of sicca rupees invested in the Company's twelve percents. besides large landed estates in the province of the Nabob Vizier, in the territories of the East India Company, and in the kingdom of France. The present Government House, we may mention, was his *Barood Khana*, or Powder Magazine. By his Will, after providing for his dependents, and leaving large sums of money to be given away in charity, he founded Colleges at Lucknow, Calcutta, and Lyons. In reference to the one at Lucknow, he says :—‘My Constantia House is never to be sold. It is to serve as a College for educating children and men in the English language and religion.’ His directions have been carried out. He was buried in the vaults of this building ; little did he dream, when making his munificent bequests, that, under the protection of the British Government, the school he founded would attain to the position it now occupies. One hundred foundationers are fed, clothed, and educated free of all charge, and, in addition, one hundred boarders are entertained at a charge less than the average expenditure. Under the vigilant supervision of the Governors, the noble endowment is doing a good work, and providing for those within its walls abundance of food and clothing, and an education which compares favourably with that given in good Middle Class Schools in England. Many of our old foundationers look back to the school with feelings of affection, showing

that it has supplied for them, as well as any school can do, the place of friends and home. A bright future is, in many instances, opened out to gifted hard-working boys, who, but for the bounty of Claude Martin, would have had but a gloomy outlook.

NOTE.—Claude Martin was promoted to the rank of Major-General in 1794 after his return from the Mysore war, where he went down, in 1790, to assist with horses. He taught the natives new arts and professions; and to him is due what remains of the celebrated toy and glass works of Lucknow.



PART I.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF OUDH BEFORE THE ANNEXATION.

1. To enable the reader to form some idea of the state of affairs in Oudh before that eventful period in the annals of British India, *viz.*, the revolt of the sepoy army in 1857,* it will be necessary to give the following particulars, taken from reliable sources, by way of introduction to my narrative, of a few kings of Oudh, whose misrule having become a public scandal and a reproach to the paramount power, resulted in the annexation of the province, by the East India Company, in February 1856.

2. The founder of the dynasty which has become extinct by the ex-King's death at Garden Reach, Calcutta, on the 21st September 1887, in his sixty-eighth year, was Sa'adat Khan, a Persian, who, coming as a merchant from Naishapur, in Khorasan, attained to high power and influence at Delhi, and received the appointment of Subadar (Governor) of Oudh from the Emperor (Muhammad Shah) of Delhi in 1732, a position which he retained until his death in 1739. The capital remained at Fyzabad till 1775, when Asuf-ud-daulah removed it to Lucknow, and the rulers retained the title of Nawab Vizier, or Chief Minister of the Empire.

3. The following rebuke, addressed by Lord Cornwallis to this Viceroy in 1793, proves how grievously the province was suffering under his mal-administration.

“On my return from the war in the Deccan, I had the mortification to find that, after a period of five years, the evils which prevailed at the beginning of that time had increased; that your finances had fallen into a worse state by an enormously accumulated debt; that the same oppressions continued to be exercised by rapacious and overgrown Amils towards the ryots; and that not only the subjects and merchants of your own dominions, but also those residing under the Company's protection, suffered many exactions, contrary to the commercial treaty, from the custom house officers, from Zemindars, Amils, and others.

“As in a state the evils that are practised by the lower classes of men are to be attributed to the example held out to them by their superiors, and to their connivance or

* By the year 1857, exactly a hundred years had passed since Clive had won the battle of Plassey (23rd June 1757), and thus laid the foundation of the British Empire in India. The centenary of the foundation of this Empire, instead of being kept as a time of general rejoicing, was fraught with one of the greatest calamities that ever befel the English nation.

their weak government; so am I obliged to represent that all the oppressions and extortions caused by the Amils on the peasantry take their source in the connivance and irregularities of the administration of Lucknow."

4. Ghazi-ud-din Haidar was the first person to obtain the title of King in 1819. It was during his reign that Lucknow was visited, by Bishop Heber, in 1824. It then possessed a considerable population, crowded together in mean houses of clay, traversed by lanes of the filthiest description, and so narrow, that even a single elephant did not pass easily. Swarms of mendicants occupied every angle and the steps of every door. Of the remaining population, all were armed—a sure index of prevailing turbulence and general insecurity of life and property. "Grave men in palanquins counting their beads, and looking like *Mollahs*, had all two, or three, sword-and-buckler lacqueys attending on them. People of consequence, on their elephants, had each a *sowarree* with shield, spear, and gun; and even the lounging people of the lower ranks in the streets and shop-doors had their shields over their shoulders, and their swords sheathed in one hand." The principal street was of commanding appearance, "wider than the High Street at Oxford, but having some distant resemblance to it in the color of its buildings, and their general form and Gothic style."

5. The misgovernment of the kingdom under native rule was proverbial, but it grew more intolerable during the reign of the late King, Wajid Ali Shah; and, after many remonstrances and much deliberation, the kingdom was made a province of British India. It will thus be seen that the annexation of Oudh, though thought at the time to be a fatal act, was rendered obligatory on the British Government in order to relieve the 5,000,000 suffering inhabitants from tyranny and oppression, brought about by the natural indolence of the King, Wajid Ali Shah, who permitted the administration to fall completely into the hands of worthless minions by whose misrule the condition of the kingdom grew worse.

6. The profligate Court of Lucknow, however, had sunk into a hopelessly feeble state long before Wajid Ali Shah ascended the throne in 1847, for in 1831 Lord William Bentinck*

* In April 1831, Lord William Bentinck, while on a tour in the Upper Provinces, paid a ceremonial visit to Lucknow, and, at a private interview, severely remonstrated with the King, Nasir-ud-din Haidar, on his dissolute habits, and threatened to take over the management of the kingdom unless the desired reforms were effected. This was repeated in the beginning of 1835, but the warning was unheeded by the King, whose time was wholly engrossed among the five European associates of his dissipation, *viz.* the barber, (deRusset; whose son, a merchant of this name, was killed in the Cawnpore Massacre of 1857); tutor (Wright); painter (Mauntz); librarian (Croupley) and Captain Magness.

had called upon his predecessors for reforms, which were, however, never conceded. It may here be added that all communications between the Governor-General and the King had to pass through the Resident, who represented British interests, and for whom a force was maintained, officered from the Line of the Bengal Army, the cost of which was a charge upon the revenues of Oudh.

7. In October 1847, Lord Hardinge, in a personal interview with the King (Wajid Ali Shah), solemnly assured him that the British had, as the paramount power, a duty to perform towards the cultivators of the soil, and that unless the King adopted a proper arrangement in the revenue and judicial departments of his government, so as to correct abuses now existing, it would be imperative on the British Government to carry out the orders of the Court of Directors. A period of two years was specified as affording sufficient opportunity for checking and eradicating the worst abuses.

8. His Majesty's character and habits were not, however, such as to encourage the prospect of improvement. Nothing could be more low or dissolute. Singers and females, provided for his amusement, occupied all his time. The singers were all *Domes*, the lowest caste in India. These men, with the eunuchs, became the virtual Sovereigns of the country. They meddled in all state affairs, and influenced the King's decisions in every reference made to him. This resulted in the misrule which prevailed, and with which Colonel Sleeman reproaches the King in a letter dated August 1853—"Your Minister has dismissed all the news writers, who formerly were attached to Amils of districts to report their proceedings, on the ground that such officers are unnecessary, so that you can never learn the sufferings of the people, much less afford them redress. In regard to affairs in the city of Lucknow, your eunuchs, your fiddlers, your poets, and your Majesty's creatures, plunder the people here, as much as your Amils plunder them in the distant districts."

9. Since the Government had lost faith in Wajid Ali Shah ever being able to bring about the desired reforms, the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, in 1849, directed Colonel Sleeman, who was Resident at Lucknow from 1849 to 1856, to make a tour through the country, and, after personal inspection, to report upon its actual state. The account he furnished was a continuous record of crime, misery, and oppression. Large tracts of fertile land were over-grown with jungle, the haunts of lawless characters, who levied black mail, at will, on travellers and others.

10. Petty chiefs had established themselves in isolated forts* from whence they set the King's authority at defiance; and the Royal troops were constantly being ordered out into the district for the purpose of bringing such refractory land-holders that refused to remit the revenues into the exchequer, under subjection. After some slight resistance the Garrison would ultimately capitulate, and the King's troops, having ransacked the country in the neighbourhood and along the line of march, would then return to the capital, bringing with them the Government dues, or so much of it as they were able to extort from the delinquents, who were terribly mal-treated for their temerity before being released in order to act as a deterrent to others similarly disposed. And to such an extent had this element of armed independence established itself, that, in the year 1849, there were, in Oudh, 246 forts, or strongholds, mounted with 476 pieces of cannon, all held by landholders of the first class, chiefly Rajpoots.

11. The revenue was collected by Amils aided by the 80,000 soldiers in the service of Zemindars, of whom half were in the King's pay. The Amils and other public functionaries were men without character, who obtained and retained their places by court bribery. They oppressed the weak by exacting, very often, more than what was due, but those that had forts, or by combination could withstand the Amils, made their own arrangements. The revenue was thus gradually diminished. Numerous dacoities (highway robbery), or other acts of violence attended with loss of life, were annually reported, and the reports of hundreds of others that occurred used to be suppressed by the corrupt officials. In short, neither life nor property was safe under this semblance of a government, and there was no alternative but for the British to take over the administration.

12. Owing to these causes the country was in a state of perpetual unrest, so that it cannot be wondered that the peaceful inhabitants longed for a change; and Colonel Sleeman used to be literally besieged along his entire route by the villagers who had some grievance to relate or wrong to be redressed. He gives a pitiful detail of the numerous applicants who crowded to him for help and restitution. Every day, as he travelled throughout the country, scores of petitions were wont to be presented to him, "with quivering lip and tearful eye, by persons who had been plundered of all they possessed, or who had

* Each fort was surrounded by a moat and a dense fence of living bamboos, through which cannon-shot could not penetrate, and men could not enter except by narrow and intricate pathways. These fences were too green to be set on fire, and so completely under the range of matchlocks from the fort, that they could not be cut down by a besieging force.

their dearest relatives murdered or tortured to death, and their habitations burned to the ground, by gangs of ruffians, under landlords of high birth and pretensions, whom they had never wronged or offended." For this misery the native officials of the kings of Oudh were answerable besides the Talukdar,* who not only oppressed the peasant by heavy exactions, but also endeavoured to deprive him of his proprietary right in the soil.

13. Colonel Sleeman, though averse to annexation as a system, stated in his report that, with all his desire to maintain the throne in its integrity, past experience did not permit him to entertain the smallest hope that the King would ever carry out any system of government calculated to insure the safety and happiness of his subjects. He did not think that, with a due regard to its own character as the paramount power in India, and the particular obligation by which it was bound by solemn treaties to the suffering people, the Government could any longer forbear to take over the administration, and to make some suitable provision, in perpetuity, for the King when dethroned.

14. On every hand the necessity for interference in the affairs of Oudh was most pressing, but the Marquis of Dalhousie, though determined to annex the province, was compelled to postpone action for the present, being then engrossed by the war with Burma and the preparations for a coming struggle with Persia.

15. Subsequently the Governor-General drew up a comprehensive Minute in which he denounced the shameful abuse of power that had existed for years in Oudh, and stated that inaction on the part of the British Government could no longer be justified. He, however, thought that the prospects of the people might be improved without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne; hence he proposed that the King should retain the nominal sovereignty while the entire civil and military administration should pass into the hands of the Company. The Home authorities, however, resolved upon annexation, involving the absolute extinction of Oudh as a Native Government, and the utter abrogation of all existing treaties with it, a measure which was at length decreed and announced to all the Empire by a simple proclamation, dated Fort William, the 11th February, 1856.

* The term Talukdar means "holder of a Taluka," or "collection of villages," farmed out to him, by Government, to whom he was responsible for payment of the land revenue assessed.

16. Prior to announcing the annexation, Lord Dalhousie, still acting with caution in a matter of such moment, had appointed Colonel (afterwards General Sir James) Outram, Resident in Oudh, with instructions to make another thorough inquiry into the condition of the people. His report was in substance the same as those which had been submitted by his predecessors; and the Indian Government then resolved that this condition of chronic anarchy, which had reduced the people of Oudh to extreme misery, should no longer be permitted to exist.

17. Seeing that it was hopeless to expect reforms from the native ruler, a treaty was proposed to the King by which the civil and military authority of Oudh would be vested in the British Government solely and for ever, and the title of King of Oudh continued to Wajid Ali and his lawful male heirs; it provided for his being treated with due respect, and, under the treaty, he would have retained exclusive jurisdiction within the Palace at Lucknow and the *Dilkusha* and *Bibiapur* Parks, except as to the infliction of capital punishment. The King was to receive an allowance of twelve lakhs a year for the support of his dignity besides three lakhs for Palace guards. His successors in the title were to receive twelve lakhs a year, and his collateral relatives were to be maintained separately. He was allowed three days to consider, but refused to sign the proposed treaty, upon which refusal the Government formally annexed the province and introduced its own system of administration.

18. The Resident then took over the government of the country; and a detailed account is given below of the interview, immediately before this occurred, between him and the King, at the Zurd Kothee Palace, on the morning of February 4th 1856:—

“General Outram, accompanied by Captains Hayes and Weston, proceeded, at 8 A. M., to visit His Majesty, by appointment. The approaches to, and the precincts of the palace were unusually deserted; the detachments of artillery on duty at the palace, together with the detachments of His Majesty's foot-guards, were unarmed, and saluted without arms; the artillery was dismounted, and not a weapon was to be seen amongst the courtiers and officials present to receive the Resident on his entering the palace. The Resident was received at the usual spot, by His Majesty in person, with the customary honors.

“During the conference, in addition to the Prime Minister, His Majesty's brother, Sekunder Hashmat, the Residency Vakcel Mushee-ud-daulah, his Deputy Sahib-ud-daulah, and the Minister of Finance, Raja Balkishen, were present.

"The Resident, after assuring His Majesty, that, from kindly consideration to his feelings, he had been induced to forward, through the Minister, a copy of the Most Noble the Governor-General's letter, two days ago, to afford the King ample time to peruse and reflect on the contents of His Lordship's letter, now felt it his duty, in pursuance of his instructions, to deliver to His Majesty in person, the Governor-General's letter, in the original. His Majesty, after attentively perusing the letter, observed that he had already been made acquainted with its purport and contents, not only by the Minister, but by the copy of the letter which the Resident had been good enough to transmit, and for which the King expressed his obligation. After a brief pause, His Majesty turned towards the Resident, and said, 'Why have I deserved this ? What have I committed?'

"The Resident replied, that the reasons which had led to the new policy, were explicitly, clearly, and abundantly detailed in His Lordship's letter to His Majesty, and that he was unable to discuss the subject, or to deviate in any way from the tenor of the instructions with which he had been honored ; but the Resident had little doubt that, on mature reflection, the King would readily acquiesce in the proposals made by the British Government. His Majesty should consider how amply and liberally the Government had provided for His Majesty's maintenance. The King's titles, honors, rank, and dignity would be scrupulously preserved and transmitted to His Majesty's descendants, in the male line, in perpetuity. His Majesty's authority would be absolute in his palace and household, always excepting the power of life and death over the King's servants and subjects thereunto appertaining. His Majesty's relatives and confidential servants would likewise be adequately provided for ; and the Resident had every reason to hope that His Majesty's good sense would induce him to meet the wishes of Government. The Resident was bound, by the solemn discharge of his duties, to announce to His Majesty that the treaty of 1801 no longer existed. The systematic oppression and misrule which had existed in Oudh ever since its ratification—the violation of all the solemn obligations which the rulers of Oudh had faithfully bound themselves to perform, as one of the high contracting parties to that treaty—had necessarily caused its infraction, and rendered it imperative on the British Government to adopt a policy which should secure the lives and property of His Majesty's suffering subjects. That policy had been commanded by the Honorable the Court of Directors ; it had been sanctioned and approved of by Her Majesty's Ministers unanimously ; and the Most Noble the Governor-General of India had been directed to carry into effect the measures alluded to prior to His

Lordship's departure from India. Under these circumstances, the Resident was persuaded that His Majesty would readily acknowledge that the Governor-General had no authority whatever but to give effect to the commands of the Home Government, and, with this view, had directed that a treaty should be prepared for submission to His Majesty, which, embracing every suitable, adequate, and ample provision for His Majesty's maintenance, and omitting nothing which could in any degree redound to the King's honor, titles, and dignity, transferred the administration of the Government of Oudh into the hands of the East India Company.

"His Majesty received the treaty with the deepest emotion, and handed it to Sahib-ud-Daulah, with directions that it should be read out aloud; but that confidential servant of the King, overcome by his feelings, was unable to read but a few lines; on which the King took the treaty from his hands, and carefully perused each article.

"His Majesty then gave vent to his feelings in a passionate burst of grief, and exclaimed—

'Treaties are necessary between equals only : who am I now, that the British Government should enter into treaties with ? For a hundred years this dynasty has flourished in Oudh. It has ever received the favor, the support, and protection of the British Government. It has ever attempted faithfully and fully to perform its duties to the British Government. The kingdom is a creation of the British, who are able to make and to unmake, to promote and to degrade. It has merely to issue its commands to ensure their fulfilment: not the slightest attempt will be made to oppose the views and wishes of the British Government: myself and subjects are its servants.'

"His Majesty then again spoke of the inutility of a treaty: he was in no position to sign one. It was useless: his honor and country were gone. He would not trouble Government for any maintenance, but would proceed to England, and throw himself at the foot of the throne to entreat a reconsideration of the orders, and to intercede for mercy. The Resident begged His Majesty to reflect that, unless the King signed the treaty, he would have no security whatever for his future maintenance, or for that of his family; that the very liberal provision devised by the British Government would inevitably be reconsidered, and reduced; that His Majesty would have no guarantee for his future provision, and would have no claim whatever on the generosity of the Government. The Resident's instructions were concise, clear, and definitive; the resolution of the Government

irrevocable and final; and the Resident entreated the King to consider what evil consequences might alight upon His Majesty and family by the adoption of any ill-judged line of conduct. The Prime Minister warmly seconded and supported the Resident's advice, and protested that he had done everything in his power to induce His Majesty to accede to the wishes of the British Government. Hereupon His Majesty's brother exclaimed that there was no occasion for a treaty. His Majesty was no longer independent and in a position to be one of the contracting powers. His office was gone, and the British Government was all-powerful. His Majesty, who was moved to tears, recapitulated the favors which his ancestors had received at the hands of the British Government, and pathetically dwelt upon his helpless position. Uncovering himself, he placed his turban in the hands of the Resident, declaring that now his titles, rank, and position were all gone, it was not for him to sign a treaty, or to enter into any negotiation. He was in the hands of the British Government, which had seated His Majesty's grandfather on the throne, and could, at its pleasure, consign him to obscurity."

19. The deposed King* was deported to Calcutta; a provision of twelve lakhs a year was made for him (this he formally accepted in October 1859), and a separate allowance was sanctioned for his collateral relations. When the King's departure from Oudh was decided on, there was a great deal of controversy about the choice of an agent to act for His Majesty. The King's advisers also immediately set about efforts for his restoration; and shortly after, with this object, the King's brother, H. H. Prince Mirza Sekunder Hashmat Bahadur, accompanied by the ex-King's mother, set out for England on a royal deputation to the Queen, but their mission having failed, they settled in Paris, where they both eventually died.

20. A contemporary thus pathetically describes the removal of the ex-King from the capital:—

DEPARTURE OF THE KING FOR CALCUTTA.

Lucknow, the 14th March 1856.

"The King left his Palace yesterday evening at eight o'clock on his way to Calcutta, whence he wishes to proceed to England. He has arrived this morning at Cawnpore. I was present at the time he came out of the Palace gates, and the scene which I then witnessed will ever be forcibly impressed on my mind. He at

*Notice of his deposition was given on the 3rd February 1856, and Wajid Ali Shah ceased to reign from the 12th.

first wished to go out by the north gate, but hearing that a crowd of people had collected at the east gate to witness his departure, he changed his mind, and passed through the midst of them, though in a closed carriage, in company with his son and principal wife. The enthusiasm of the people was immense; to me it was surprising, for I believe natives incapable of displaying so much feeling. The air resounded with shouts—*Badshah salamat* (greeting to thee, oh King!) *Badshahut phir banirahe!* May your kingdom again be established!) *Lundhun se hukum ajaway!* (May the order arrive from London) [I suppose to overturn the present state of affairs]. *Badshah salamat; salamat!* was heard everywhere. Then deep curses were imprecated on the heads of the *Firingis*, and I felt anything but comfortable at that time. Indeed, I thought it prudent then to take myself off, for I thought it very possible that I might become a victim to a multitude exasperated against the Europeans. The King's wives, concubines and female palace attendants crowded into the closed turrets and houses surrounding the enclosure and set up a wail long and continued, a wail heart-rending in the extreme. All were affected, and tears streamed down many cheeks."

21. The journey to Calcutta took exactly two months, His Majesty spending some time at Cawnpore and Allahabad before he embarked for Calcutta in the Steamer *General MacLeod*, which arrived there, with His Majesty on board, on the 13th May 1856. For a year after coming to Calcutta the King lived under no restraint, but the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 destroyed the last hope of his being restored to his Kingdom. He was then made a State Prisoner* in Fort William,† and afterwards provided with the well-known residence at Garden Reach, near Calcutta, where he spent the remainder of his days. Here he maintained a large establishment and lived with some show of regal splendour upon the munificent pension awarded him by Government.

22. After the annexation of the Province affairs wore a serene aspect, which seemed to augur well for the future. The settlement of the country was progressing favorably and the people appeared satisfied with the new arrangements; but this state of tranquillity was not fated to last long, for, as the year advanced, elements, though not of immediate danger, manifested themselves. It was suspected that the King's emissaries were actively at work inciting the people to hostility; and none

* The King was liberated on 9th July 1859.

† The fort was built, by the English, in 1696, and was named after the reigning English sovereign, William III.

were more inimical to the British at that time than the discharged soldiery of the Native Government, which may be put down at about 60,000. These men fostered the hope that the native *raj* (reign) would be restored, and they were prepared for any enterprise having for its object the attainment of this cherished wish. These were the characters let loose upon Oudh, who scattered the seed of disaffection towards the new *regime* throughout the land, and, doubtless, swelled the ranks of the mutineers when the rebellion broke out.

23. At that time Lucknow was one of the most flourishing cities in India. The central part was very densely populated; and the scenes in the principal streets were most lively. Mounted cavaliers, clothed in Cashmere stuffs elaborately embroidered with gold, and preceded by attendants carrying gold and silver mounted sticks, swords, spears, and wands of office, passed to and fro in a continuous stream. Certain dignitaries, seated in open palanquins, (a covered litter suspended from poles by which it is borne on the shoulders of men) richly painted and gilded, mingled in the throng, followed by their armed retainers, and with, occasionally, a mounted escort, their horses caparisoned in red and green trappings: others, perched aloft on the backs of elephants, were seated in gracefully carved *howdahs*,* which were, in some instances, of silver. The attendants of the more wealthy inhabitants included the various races from all parts of India; and the effect produced by their diversified costumes was extremely picturesque.

24. The Kingdom of Oudh, as has been shown, was annexed in February 1856; and British administration was scarcely established, and the chaos of the past reduced to order, when the revolt of the Native Army arrested progress, and ultimately plunged the country into a worse condition than it was before. The people were once more incited to lawlessness, and by June 1857, all authority was lost in the Province. In consequence of the impending danger, the military were ordered to garrison the Residency, the rendezvous selected for all non-combatants loyal to the British cause, who flocked thither and so materially aided in the defence of the place that it now stands a monument of England's supremacy in the East!

* A howdah resembles a Sedan chair placed on the back of an elephant.

PART II.

REMINISCENCES OF THE INVESTMENT OF THE RESIDENCY.

1. In January 1852 I joined the *Martiniere* as a student, and, at the time of the outbreak in 1857, I was one of the senior boys of the College, to the staff of which institution my parents belonged: hence I became pretty well conversant with passing events. The doubts that began to arise in the minds of the people at this station (Lucknow) respecting the allegiance of the native troops in Oudh and elsewhere, were confirmed by the newspapers, from which we learnt of the general resistance made, by the sepoys, (native soldiers) to the use of the greased cartridge.

2. The mutinous 19th and 34th Native Infantry had, for this reason, been disbanded at Barrackpore, and, since many of the men of this Regiment belonged to Oudh whence the largest proportion of soldiers for the native army was then drawn, it was apprehended that, on their return to the province, they would be the first to disseminate disaffection throughout the land.* At this time the native troops occupied various positions in Lucknow, and were a source of great anxiety to the Officers of Government and all loyal British subjects who regarded them with evident distrust.

3. We were aware that the feeling of the native troops was far from good at Meerut, where a school of musketry had been formed for the instruction of the sepoys in the use of the Enfield Rifle Cartridge.† We had heard of the disturbances which had broken out at various stations in Bengal immediately after those at Barrackpore and Berhampore had been suppressed. Rumours of incendiary fires at Agra, which signalled the coming troubles, had reached us and helped to agitate considerably the minds of the Europeans at Lucknow—the Capital of a deposed king—where, with its multitude of armed inhabitants and discharged soldiery of the native government, the disaffection, at this time—the beginning of May 1857—was very alarming!

NOTE.—Description of places printed in italics is given in Part IV.

* It is a significant fact that, of 200,000 sepoys in the British Army at the time of the outbreak, 40,000 were from Oudh alone. In 1747 Lord Clive organized the first battalion of sepoys.

† In 1856 the Russian war was over, and the Enfield Rifle, which had been used with such success in the Crimea, was introduced into India. Accordingly three musketry schools were established in India for teaching the sepoys the use of the new rifle; one school was established at Dum Dum, another at Meerut, and the third at Sealkote.

4. In consequence of information telegraphed from Calcutta, Raja Maun Singh,* an influential landed proprietor in the Fyzabad District, was arrested by order of the Chief Commissioner, and placed in confinement at his fort of Shahgunge. Sending for the British authorities, he warned them that the troops would rise, and offered, if released, to give the Europeans shelter in his fort. Seeing the critical state of things, Colonel Goldney released him, and Maun Singh at once commenced to put his fort of Shahgunge in order, and raise levies. Matters looking very ominous at Fyzabad, the civilians sent their families to Shahgunge, where they were sheltered for a few days, when Maun Singh, either from zeal or pretended fear of the mutineers, desired them to depart. He, however, provided boats for them on the Gogra, to which they were escorted by night, and a party of Maun Singh's levies accompanied them some way on their journey. They all reached the station of Dinapore in safety.

5. Most fortunately for us, at this juncture, there was one equal to the occasion at the Capital. I allude to the late Sir Henry Lawrence who arrived, at Lucknow, on the 21st of March 1857. Sir Henry was then only 50 years of age but he looked an old man, for his face bore traces of many years of toil beneath an Indian sun, and the still deeper marks of a never-ending conflict with self. His eyes, over-hung by massive craggy brows, looked out with an expression in which melancholy was strangely blended with humour; his thin wasted cheeks were furrowed, and this, with a long scanty beard, added to his care-worn look of age. On noticing the state of affairs, Sir Henry actively set about making preparations for the defence of Lucknow, as he was not the man to be an idle spectator of the movements among the native troops then ripe for rebellion.

6. The first thing Sir Henry did was to apply, by telegraph, to Calcutta, the seat of Government, for unlimited power in the Province of Oudh, of which he was Chief Commissioner;

* Overtures had been made to this crafty Taluqdar from both sides. The Fyzabad mutineers invited him to place himself at their head while the British Government offered him a perpetual *Jagheer*, secured on land yielding an annual revenue of £ 25,000 if he remained a staunch adherent to the British and rendered them active aid. His replies had been evasive. Nor, so long as General Havelock's forces remained on the Oudh side of the Ganges, did he declare himself. But when, on August 13th, Havelock, falling back on Cawnpore, recrossed the Ganges, Maun Singh, thinking the British cause hopeless, marched in from Fyzabad, and joined the mutineers at Lucknow. In the middle of October, when the British prospects began to improve, a message was received at the *Residency* from Maun Singh, offering an escort of 10,000 men if the troops would evacuate Lucknow and retire to Cawnpore.

and it was unhesitatingly conferred on him by the Governor-General, Lord Canning, who knew that Sir Henry was not likely to abuse it. This was a step in the right direction, leaving the Chief Commissioner unfettered to cope with any emergency that might arise, as he thought proper, without referring to Headquarters, a reference which would otherwise have been necessary.

7. The native regiments were all the while most anxious for some pretext upon which to break out; and an excuse was soon found in the following incident, by which the men tried to make out that the Government intended to destroy their caste and religion. When a feeling of discontent has once taken root, small matters, though not tending to the injury of the discontented, are readily magnified.

8. A Surgeon (Dr. Wells) of one of the Native Infantry Regiments stationed at Murriaon Cantonments,* on the occasion of one of his visits to the regimental hospital, incautiously applied to his mouth a bottle of medicine with a view of testing its contents, and this act was construed into a deliberate attempt to break the caste of the men. The consequence was an outcry among them, and a refusal to touch any of the medicines prescribed for them. A few nights after, the Doctor's Bungalow was fired, but he fortunately escaped unhurt with the loss of his property only. It was suspected that the incendiaries were the sepoys of his own regiment, but, as no proof could be obtained, punishment could not be inflicted.

9. It now became apparent that the regiment was disaffected. The men were suspected of intriguing with the relatives of the ex-king, residing in the city, and tampering with men of the military police, but the officers of the regiment refused to credit these reports and rejected all suspicion of the disaffection of their men. Seeing this state of things, Sir Henry vigorously applied himself to concentrate his military resources, which, at the time of the first occupation of the province by the British, had to be located in buildings that were found the best available for the accommodation of troops; but, unfortunately, these places were widely apart and inconveniently situated.

10. The Chief Commissioner's head-quarters were at the *Residency*. About the *Residency* were closely clustered several buildings which formed the residences of, and afforded accommodation for, the offices of the Judicial and Financial Commissioners, the Civil Surgeon, and others. The Treasury was also

* The old British Military Cantonment, called by the natives Murriaon, was built in the reign of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, (1793-1814).

located here, and a Company of the 48th Native Infantry guarded it and the *Residency*. The sepoys occupied a curved line of buildings outside the principal gate leading to the *Residency* to which the name of "Bailey Guard" was given.* About a mile and a half eastward was placed the only European Infantry in Oudh, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment. The men occupied the *Chauper Stables*, (now known as *Lawrence Terrace*) as their barracks. The officers were scattered about the station; some occupied the houses along the road leading directly from Hazratgunj towards the *Martinieres*. The rest lived in apartments of the *Chutter Munzil Palace* and *Khurshaed Munzil*, which last was the Officers' Mess-house.

11. East of the Mess-house, and close to the river, is the *Kudum Rusool*, an old tomb built on high ground, which was converted into a powder-magazine and was protected by a native guard. In this neighbourhood were the lines of the 3rd Regiment Military Police, which furnished all the Civil guards at Lucknow. The *Tara Kothee*, or observatory (now known as the Bank of Bengal) was occupied by the Civil Courts, and other buildings in the neighbourhood by the European Officials.

12. About a mile from the *Residency*, up stream, are the *Dowlut Khana* and *Sheesh Mahul*, which, in 1775, formed the palace of King Asuf-ud-daulah. The head-quarters of Brigadier Gray, who commanded the Oudh Irregular Force, were in the former. In the latter was the magazine, where a considerable number of stand-of-arms, as well as 200 unmounted guns belonging to the Native Government, were deposited. Before the siege began these were all brought in and laid out on the low ground close to the Redan Battery.† Many of the guns were of large calibre, cast for the Oudh Government by General Claude Martin. About two miles higher up is the *Moosa Bagh Palace*, where the 4th Regiment, O. I. Infantry, were quartered; and a mile beyond it again, were the lines of the 7th

*When Nawab Asuf-ud-daulah, after transferring the seat of Government from Fyzabad to Lucknow (1775), resided in his palace, the *Dowlut Khana*, the Resident was accommodated in one of the buildings attached to it, but when Saadat Ali Khan made the *Furhat Buksh* his own dwelling place, he built the *Residency* close to it. At first no military guard was attached to the *Residency*, but when Colonel Bailey held this office, a guard of Honor was appointed, and a house built for it by Saadat Ali close to the gate of the *Residency* enclosure, which thus obtained its world-famed name of the "Bailey Guard."

† This battery was, by far, the best we had in the line of defences. It was defended by soldiers of the 32nd Regiment under the command of Lieutenant Sam Lawrence. It mounted two 18-pounders and a 9-pounder which commanded the road up to the *Iron Bridge*. On that memorable day, the 20th July, the enemy advanced within 25 paces of this post, but were repulsed with heavy loss.

Regiment, O. I. Intantry. Such was the disposition of troops on the south-side of the river.

13. Three miles north of the *Residency*, across the river, was the old Cantonment of Murriaon. Here the officers resided in thatched bungalows, while the European and Native troops occupied thatched barracks. At a further distance of a mile and a half was the new Cantonment at Moodkeepore where the 7th Regiment of Native Cavalry was stationed, the 2nd Regiment of O. I. Cavalry being also located on the left bank of the Goomtee on the site now occupied by the Lunatic Asylum.

The whole force in Murriaon and Moodkeepore Cantonments is given below :—

European Artillery	... 1	Light Horse Battery.
Regular Native Artillery	... 1	„ Bullock „
Oudh Irregular „	... 2	„ Horse Batteries.
Regular Native Cavalry	... 1	Regiment
„ „ Infantry	... 3	Regiments, viz., the 13th, 48th and 71st.

14. This faulty and irregular distribution of troops was chiefly due to the fact, as before stated, that, when Oudh was annexed, barracks had not been built; and as the near approach of the annual rains made the speedy construction of new buildings impossible, the places found most capable of adaptation to military requirements had been occupied. Such was the state of things at the beginning of May 1857. At this period the condition of the province was comparatively tranquil.

15. On the 7th May the mutiny of the 7th O. I. Infantry was the first startling event.* This Regiment was stationed at *Moosa Bagh*, a garden-residence of one of the late King's wives, which formed one of the prettiest suburban retreats of King Asuf-ud-daulah. The men refused to use their cartridges on the plea that they had been tampered with. Their officers found it necessary to assemble the men, in order to point out to them the absurdity of the fears they entertained for their religion. They used every effort to convince the incredulous sepoys of the falsity of the pretences by which their religious prejudices had been aroused, and told them that if they still refused to trust the Government, and allowed suspicion to take root in their minds and to grow into disaffection, insubordination, and mutiny, their punishment would be sharp and certain.

* The mutiny broke out, in Lucknow, on 30th May; Seetapore, 3rd June; Mullaon, 4th; Mohumdee and Fyzabad, 8th; Sultanpore and Daryabad, 9th; Selone, Secrora and Gonda, on 10th June 1857.

16. All attempts to restore the regiment to obedience having failed, Sir Henry Lawrence resolved to employ force against them and disarm them. This was necessary, for the mutineers lost no time in seeking the aid of the 48th Native Infantry in Cantonments. A seditious letter, addressed to that regiment, was intercepted and delivered up to the Commanding Officer. Without any delay the European Infantry and Artillery, two regiments of Native Infantry, and the 7th (Native) Light Cavalry, were ordered to proceed to the lines of the mutineers, distant about 7 miles from Murriaon Cantonment. Darkness had set in, but so prompt had been the movement that the 7th O. I. Infantry were taken by surprise. They were instantly ordered to form up in front of their lines. In the presence of a force so imposing they were overawed into obedience. Just then the Artillery portfires having been lighted, a sudden panic seized the men. Mad with terror, they rushed frantically away. The ring-leaders and most of their followers, however, were secured and put in irons pending trial. On the following day the prisoners were tried and discharged. Sir Henry Lawrence publicly rewarded those sepoys of the 48th Regiment, who had not only resisted the temptation to mutiny, but had loyally apprised their superior officer of the attempt by surrendering the letter addressed to the regiment by the men of the 7th O. I. Infantry. Having thus vigorously put down the first overt act of mutiny, Sir Henry Lawrence applied himself to conciliate the native soldiery by every means in his power.

17. In the early part of May the news of the mutiny of the native regiments at Meerut, and the massacre of Christian people in several stations in Upper-India, were current among the boys in the College. This intelligence was indeed alarming; we all felt that a great calamity was at hand in which Oudh was almost sure to be a sufferer. Sir Henry now began to consider what was to be done in the event of an insurrection, as he was not certain what effect the intelligence would have on the minds of the native community when it became known.

18. The Treasury in the *Residency*, containing several lacs of rupees besides a large amount deposited in Company's paper, was, up to this time, guarded by a company of sepoys of the 48th Native Infantry.* On intelligence being received of the seizure of the city of Delhi with its Treasury and Magazine, and of the revolt of all the troops at that station, it

* On the evening of the 29th June 1857, the day before the investment of the *Residency*, a company of H. M.'s 32nd, the Volunteer Cavalry and some Light Artillery, entered the *Kaiser Bagh* and brought away the King's jewels valued at more than a million sterling, as it was feared that it would tempt the rebels not far from Lucknow to make a raid on the capital.

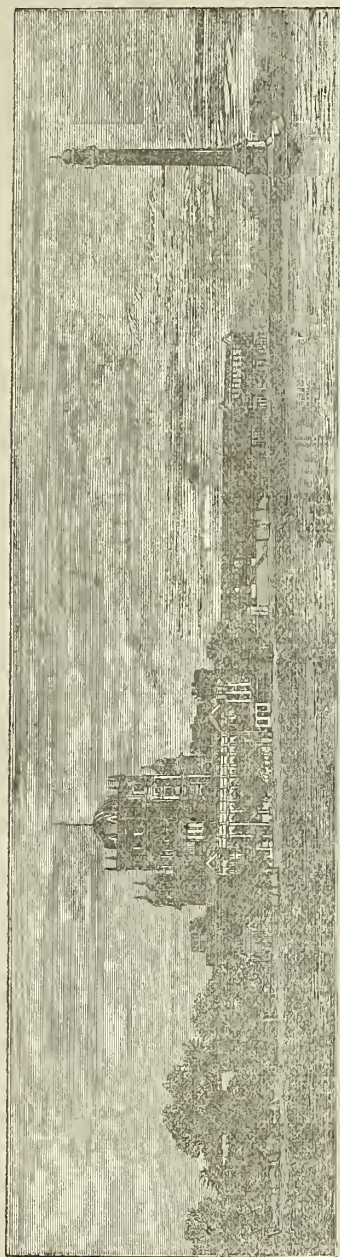
appeared to Sir Henry that the time had arrived for taking effective measures to protect the *Residency* and the treasure. Accordingly, on the 18th May, a company of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment and a few guns were ordered into the *Residency*. The rest of the regiment was removed from the *Chaupar Stables* down to Murriaon Cantonment where it encamped. The Civil Lines were thus left unprotected, consequently the European residents in the vicinity removed their families into the *Residency*.

19. The removal of the European Regiment to Murriaon Cantonment was considered necessary as a check to the native troops there, and also with a view to prevent any intrigues between the sepoys and the disaffected in the city of Lucknow, who were not considered likely to rise in a body unless they were backed up by the native soldiery. The Native Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, were then located in Cantonments. These were kept in check by the 32nd Regiment and European Artillery, so that they could not effect a junction with the city people without first hazarding a battle. This they were loath to do.

20. Sir Henry made the best possible distribution of the few reliable men under his command, completing his arrangements with that rapidity and energy which always distinguished him. He provided not only for the protection and the fortification of the *Residency* and *Muchee Bhawun*, but also of the Murriaon Cantonment.

21. We still continued to occupy the *Martinierre*, and, in consequence of the impending danger, our active and energetic Principal, Mr. Schilling, determined to do all in his power for the preservation of the youths entrusted to his charge. Considerable stores of wheat, dal,* rice, ghee,† &c., were collected by my father, under the orders of the Principal, and placed in the small rooms situated above the second-floor of the central building, which was then, and is now, used as the principal dormitory. Among these stores were a large number of earthen *ghurras* filled with drinking water in case of emergency. The frequent bursting of these, and the consequent unwelcome midnight-baths, were the first tastes we had of the effects of the mutiny. The centre building was barricaded with bricks, sand bags, boxes of old books and crockery. The wings continued to be used as class-rooms, but the boys were instructed to make for the centre building as soon as they heard the sound of the alarum-bell. This bell—which is still to be seen in the vaults of Constantia and which was the hour-bell of the colossal

* Lentil. † Clarified butter.



LA MARTINIERE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW.

clock placed in the north-west turret by the benevolent founder, General Martin,* was put under the charge of the boy, who, for the time-being, acted as look-out. As might be expected, the false alarms were neither few nor far between, and yet were never without some supposed justification. At one time a rabble of grass-cutters' tats was mistaken for a regiment of mutinous *sowars*, and, on another occasion, a dust-storm was supposed to be the fore-runner of a hostile attack.

22. Sir Henry Lawrence's next move was to decide upon a place in which he could concentrate his ammunition and Military Stores, and which could be utilized as a place of refuge in case of attack. For this purpose the *Muchee Bhawun* was selected. The repairs of the place were begun at once and the adjacent native buildings were ordered to be razed. As soon as it was determined to convert the *Muchee Bhawun* into a fortification, the Magazine and stores from the *Sheesh Mahul* and *Kudum Rusool* were removed into it. The Oudh Irregular Light Horse Battery was also ordered there from Murriaon Cantonment and served to augment the garrison. Some defensive works were likewise begun at the *Residency*, but they were slight, and were confined to the most exposed positions, and chiefly intended as a protection against any sudden rising of the city people. At the time of the mutiny the Chief Military Officer in Oudh was Brigadier Handscomb, who was subordinate to Sir Hugh Massoy Wheeler,† Major-General Commanding the Cawnpore Division.

23. After the suppression of the mutiny of the 7th Oudh Irregular Infantry, Sir Henry Lawrence was invested with full military powers, and the rank of Brigadier-General was conferred upon him. From the 20th May he assumed command of all the British troops in Oudh. Telegraphic communication was not, up to this time, interrupted, and messages were constantly passing and repassing between Sir Henry and the authorities in the N.-W. Provinces. The accounts received from Agra were unfavorable; the natives in the district were reported to have thrown off all Civil authority. The horrible outrages committed by the inhabitants of some of the largest cities upon defenceless women and children, were not, however, shared in by the masses of the citizens, but were the work of *budmashes*, or loose

* A short biography of this public benefactor will be found after the Preface.

† Sir Hugh Wheeler was, with others, treacherously massacred at Cawnpore on the 27th June 1857, but 210 women and children of his party were reserved for future destruction. On the 15th July, the date of the defeat of the insurgents by Sir H. Havelock's small army, the Nana Sahib resolved to wreak his vengeance on the helpless women and children in his power, and they were then ruthlessly butchered by his orders.

characters, who abound in all large native towns. These revel in a time of ryot, or disorder ; and it was not surprising that, as soon as Civil power was at an end, we should have suffered so severely at their hands. The strong Brigade of native troops, consisting of the 1st, 53rd and 56th Bengal Native Infantry with the 2nd Light Cavalry, at Cawnpore, also were reported to be disaffected. Subsequently, on 3rd June, these four regiments mutinied ; and shortly afterwards, on the 9th June, General Wheeler's urgent application to Sir Henry for aid was received. But as the provisional council acting temporarily for Sir Henry Lawrence, whose health had just then given way, held that they could not spare a man from the *Muchee Bhawun*, or the *Residency*, it was mournfully but unanimously decided that aid could not be rendered.

24. The Mohamedan festival of the *Id-ul-zuha** fell on the 24th May, and it was expected that an outbreak would take place on that day when they sacrifice much cattle. It was thought that, inflamed by the sight of blood, they might now attempt an onslaught on all Europeans and Christians to add to the hecatomb. Nothing, however, occurred, and the festival passed off without any disturbance, although there were abundant symptoms of ill-feeling among the populace, leading to the belief that a mutiny could not long be averted. It was, therefore, thought necessary that the ladies residing at Murriaon should be removed into the *Residency*. Accordingly on the 25th May, they all came in, and were accommodated in the houses of those officers who were residing within the intrenchment.

25. Up to this time no further act of mutiny had been committed at Lucknow, and Sir Henry clung to the hope of averting the impending storm by conciliation, and thought that the offer of increased pay might keep the native soldiery faithful ; but this idea was abandoned, as it was afterwards considered that the offer to increase the pay of the native regiments would be attributed to fear, and that the time when a conciliatory policy might have proved successful had gone by. No

* This festival is intended to commemorate the sacrifice, by Abraham, of a ram, which, by the interposition of Providence, was provided him as a substitute for his son Isaac (they believe it to have been Ishmael) whom he was about to immolate at God's command, for which he became the father of a great nation—the now despised Jews, also the Arabs who trace their descent to Ishmael (the son of the bondwoman by the Patriarch) whom they regard as their great progenitor. Mina, situated on an elevated spot 6 miles east of Mecca, is an immured oratory containing a small slab dissevered. Mohamedans believe this to be the veritable spot where Abraham offered up his sacrifice, and that the stone was broken through the violence of the blow. It is a significant fact, however, that, in no other place within the precincts of Mecca is it considered lawful to offer up sacrifices. The number of animals slaughtered there on the *Id* Festival (the 10th of Zilhijja) is about 70,000.

man in India, perhaps, viewed the approaching storm with clearer eyes than Sir Henry Lawrence, and no cooler head and readier hand than his surveyed its progress. The garrison of Lucknow would surely have suffered but for his foresight and determination.

26. Just before the outbreak a most absurd rumour was circulated in the city of Lucknow and believed in, to the effect that the authorities had procured a great quantity of bone-dust to mix with the flour and confectionery sold in the bazaar, with the intention of destroying the castes of the populace. This, of course, caused great excitement, notwithstanding that every effort was made by the Government to prove the falsity of such a report. Though all accounts which were received from native sources described the inhabitants of Lucknow as, in the main, well affected towards us, yet there was another class in Oudh who were undoubtedly hostile to the British rule, and who were much to be feared, *viz.*, the discharged soldiery of the Native Government referred to on page 11. Of these there could not have been less than about 60,000 when Oudh was annexed, as already stated.

27. The annexation of Oudh was said to be the main cause of the mutiny in this Province, and not, as some regarded it, a religious outbreak of the soldiery caused by our interference with their caste prejudices and religion. No doubt the minds of the natives had been, for some time, alarmed on the subjects of caste and religion. But, although their religious fears might have been excited, and the native soldiery might have been discontented and inclined to mutiny, yet had there been a sufficient number of British regiments in the country, the sepoys would never have dared to break into insurrection.

28. At the beginning of 1857 the number of European troops in Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces, scattered amongst a population of about fifty millions, is stated not to have exceeded 5,000, and nearly all the treasuries and arsenals were without the protection of Europeans. While the impending danger was treated with indifference in Calcutta, Lord Elphinstone—the Governor of Bombay—fortunately for the interests of India, was fully alive to the magnitude of the crisis. Before the outbreak at Meerut he sent a pressing request to Sir James Outram to send back all the European troops from Persia without any delay, peace having been concluded with that country. His letter was accompanied by a communication from the Governor-General authorising Sir James to use his own discretion in the matter; and he determined, at once, to send back every European regiment with the exception of the Artillery, retaining the native troops till the treaty was ratified and Herat evacuated.

29. At the time of the outbreak, India was so denuded of European troops that the entire power was left in the hands of the natives, who, seeing but a handful of Europeans opposed to them, considered themselves sure of success, and organized this vast conspiracy which was to extinguish the British rule and race in India by **one general massacre**. To this idea has been chiefly attributed the outbreak of the mutiny in India. Indeed, it would be difficult to find, in the history of any nation, a similar instance of the revolt of an army of a hundred thousand men against a well-established Government, whose only fault was that of having manifested too great a deference to their prejudices and humours. There is no previous example of an army thus proclaiming a war of extermination against its indulgent masters and requiting their kindness by acts of the most atrocious barbarity.

30. In order to convey a correct idea of the difficulties which had to be overcome by the Government and the danger which threatened the European community at Lucknow, the strength of the military force available at the time in the Capital and its environs is detailed below :—

Native Infantry	...	..	3 Regiments,	13th, 48th, 71st.
Do. Irregular Infantry	...	2	do.	4th, 7th.
Do. Police	Do.	...	1	do. 3rd.
Do. Cavalry,	7th Light Cavalry.			
Do. Mounted Police,	1½ Regiments.			
Do. Irregular Oudh,	1	do.		
Do. Artillery,	2 Batteries.			
European Infantry,	H. M.'s 32nd Regiment of Foot.			
Do. Artillery,	1 Light Horse Battery.			

31. On the night of the 30th May 1857, the date on which the utiny broke out at Murriaon Cantonment, I was in charge of the Choir boys sent from the *Martiniere* to assist the Rev. Mr. Polehampton* in conducting the Church services at Cantonments. That night, as usual, Mrs. Polehampton was playing on the organ. We were in the midst of chanting the Magnificat when suddenly the bugles sounded the alarm. All the officers present quietly rose up and marched out, and, after finishing the Magnificat, the service was brought to a close. The Rev. Mr. Polehampton took the Choir boys to his house and gave us the choice of remaining there or proceeding to the *Martiniere* at once. As our elephants were ready waiting, I preferred to take the boys home, and we twelve set off on our

* Mr. Polehampton was wounded on the 8th, and died, of cholera, on the 20th July 1857.

moon-light journey of about six miles. Near the *Iron Bridge* we passed a regiment of sepoys marching with fixed bayonets, but, to our great relief, they took no notice of us whatever. Who they were, whether friend or foe, and whither they were going, we could not tell nor cared to know, but with all possible speed we pushed along, fearing every moment an attack, by the mob, as we had to pass through the most crowded streets. We arrived unmolested up to the *Huzrutgunge* gate, opposite the site of *Eduljee's* shop, when a *sowar*, with drawn-sword, rode up and ordered our *Mahout*, or elephant driver, to halt. Seeing, however, that his horse would not come near our elephant, I told the *Mahout* to go on. After a little exchange of abusive epithets, the *Mahout* proceeded on, and the obstructive *sowar* took his departure after a few farewell flourishes of his naked sword by way of menace. On arriving at the *Martiniere* we found every one on the top of the building looking at the far-off flames of the burning bungalows in Cantonments, and we received the hearty congratulations of all on what they considered our providential escape.

The particulars of the outbreak are as follows :—

Immediately after dusk the sepoys of the 71st Native Infantry turned out and commenced firing, whilst some of their number made straight for the Officers' Mess-house; on the way they were met by a party of the 7th Light Cavalry, who were also going in the same direction, which proved that the destruction of the officers had been deliberately planned. The mutineers were, fortunately, disappointed of their prey. The officers, being on the alert, had left the Mess-house upon the first shot being fired. It was providential that the outbreak did take place before the plot was ripe, for had the conspiracy been matured and burst forth suddenly, as is believed was the intention, there is too much reason to fear that it would have been a success. The Mess-house was set on fire.

32. Sir Henry and his staff immediately proceeded to the European Camp, where there were 300 men of H. M.'s 32nd Foot and 6 guns. With the guns he swept the parade of the 71st Native Infantry, and, fearing that the mutineers might make for the city, Sir Henry placed two guns and a Company of the 32nd on the road leading to it. The discharge of grape soon cleared the parade and drove the sepoys back into their lines. Brigadier Handscomb who was commanding the troops in Cantonment and had gone out to quell the insurgents, was shot dead. A portion of the 48th Native Infantry were marched to the *Residency*; these were the men we passed near the *Iron Bridge* mentioned above. The 7th Light Cavalry patrolled

the main streets of Cantonments during the whole of that night, but could not stop the general plunder and destruction of house property, which was set on fire by the mutinous sepoys. The 32nd Regiment kept their position all night.

33. The following day a short skirmish took place with the enemy, who, after a few discharges of round shot, broke up and fled. A day or two afterwards a number of city *budmashes*, on their way to join the mutineers, were intercepted, and, on returning to the city, they commenced an outbreak, but, by the efforts of the Police, were completely defeated and dispersed. Numerous arrests followed this affair, and several executions were effected. These executions took place near the *Muchee Bhawun* Fort, the gallows being commanded by the guns on the ramparts, which were always kept loaded with grape. Thus closed the month of May at Lucknow.

34. In the beginning of June the native troops at Secrora were ripe for mutiny, but Mr. Campbell, Commissioner of the Baraitch division, was enabled to place confidence in the friendliness of the Raja of Bulrampore, Drig Bijai Singh,* and to arrange that the European officers should seek refuge with him when the crisis came. This was done, and, after a few days stay at Bulrampore, the whole party, under an escort, reached the Gorakhpore district in safety.

35. About this time some European refugees from the district had come in and were accommodated at the *Residency*. Up to this time it had not been decided whether both posts, *i. e.*, the *Muchee Bhawun* and the *Residency*, should be held, or one only, but, after some deliberation, the abandonment of the former and the concentration of the force at the latter was decided upon. This resolution was formed on the report made by the Engineers to the effect that the Fort was untenable ; that its walls would not resist Artillery ; and that the large masonry drains underneath it would afford the enemy great facilities for undermining the Fort.

36. A few days later large quantities of shot and shell with gunpowder, heavy guns and provisions, began to be removed from the *Muchee Bhawun* into the *Residency*. Still very considerable stores were left in the *Muchee Bhawun*, and the works there were continued actively, so that Sir Henry evidently intended to retain both the posts, which are about half a mile apart.

* During the whole course of the rebellion, this young Raja remained staunch to the British cause, and, at its close, he was well rewarded for his fidelity, by Government, which bestowed, on him, high titles in addition to an extensive grant of land contiguous to the Nepal Terai where his estates lie. It is pleasant to find in him, one whose character contrasts so favorably with that of Maun Singh, another of the Barons of Oudh (see page 13.)

Since the *Muchee Bhawun* Fort was regarded by the natives as impregnable and they had a salutary dread of our guns playing upon the city, the retention of this Fortress, for some time longer, was a wise measure, as it served to keep the city people in check long after the native troops in Cantonments had revolted.

37. The next thing considered necessary was the disarming of the native troops, which was done about the middle of June, and many of the men were sent on leave to their homes. Their arms were brought in and stored in the *Residency* buildings. About this time the intelligence department was organized to forward despatches to out-stations ; and *sowars* used to be sent out to patrol the main lines of road in order to get accounts of passing events. There were also several native scouts employed for the same purpose. By these means information of the movements of the mutineers in the interior of the province continued to be obtained up to the time of the investment.

38. On the first rumours of mutiny and massacre, Mr. Schilling, acting on the advice of the Reverend Mr. Polehampton, had removed the guard of sepoy from *Constantia* and had procured, in their stead, a guard of Her Majesty's 32nd Europeans. On the 12th June the 3rd Regiment of Military Police, commanded by Captain Adolphe Orr, mutinied. Their barracks were situated on the new road leading past the *Motee Mahal* palace and *Khurshaed Munzil*, the building now occupied by the Martiniere Girls' School. Captain Orr, though he had removed his family into the *Residency*, still occupied his own house near the Police Lines. He and his father-in-law, Mr. Symes, who was a teacher in the College before the outbreak, were at home when the news of the disturbance was brought to them by a faithful sepoy. They had just time to mount their horses and escape to the *Residency* when the mutineers rushed in and plundered the house, after which they directed their steps to the *Khurshaed Munzil* which was then ransacked.

39. Crossing the canal the rebels passed between it and the *Martiniere* village, and ultimately took up a position in the mangoe tope on the south boundary of the College park, evidently intending to attack us in the night. Hardly had they done so when the Volunteer Cavalry and the Artillery from the *Residency* galloped up and opened on them with grape at close quarters. This threw the rebels into great confusion ; and a charge from the Volunteer Cavalry scattered them in every direction, some of them even taking refuge in the trees. Just then two companies of the 32nd came up in skirmishing order,

and, though they could not overtake the shattered and flying main body, they brought down not a few of the sepoy's roosting among the foliage.

40. The enemy, on this occasion, was about 700 strong while the force sent against it consisted of about 220, of whom the greater part were Europeans. The force was commanded by Brigadier Inglis of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment. We, at the *Martiniere*, had a clear view of this skirmish from the top of the main building, and longed to join in the fray, but dared not leave our position which we had to protect against any unexpected attack of the enemy. Just then our Principal, Mr. Schilling, was returning from the *Residency* and met the rebels passing through the park; but he managed to escape owing to the fleetness of his horse.

41. Next morning the Principal received orders from Sir Henry Lawrence to abandon the *Martiniere** and march the boys under his charge into the *Residency*. Leaving our stores and the greater part of our clothing at *La Martiniere* we marched in column to the *Residency*. On our way there we had to pass through the most frequented streets of Lucknow yet we met with no molestation, though a malignant scowl was discernable on almost every native's face. Notwithstanding an order had been issued prohibiting the carrying of arms, we noticed several armed to the teeth. The only escort we had was a guard of the 32nd Regiment leading, and the senior boys, armed with muskets, † bringing up the rear. Up to the 30th June 1857, the day of the battle of Chinhut, we continued to draw our stores and supplies of clothing and other necessities from *Constantia*, but, after that disastrous day, we were deprived of this resource, since all communication with the outer world was then cut off, and we were left with the bare suit on our back with which we had to go through the siege, and which was considered a great hardship.

42. Sir Henry Lawrence allotted to us, for our quarters, the house of the native banker, Sah Beharie Lall, which was

* The *Martiniere* is about 3 miles east of the *Residency*.

† The Brown-Bess was the only weapon used by the boys during the siege till the arrival of the first relief, when the Enfield was distributed. Sir Frederick Roberts, the present Commander-in-Chief, in his address to the Simla Volunteers, made the following remark with regard to the former weapon:—"It seems that, with the old Brown-Bess, you might stand at the foot of Ludgate Hill and fire at St. Paul's with little chance of hitting it more than once in five hundred shots." After which His Excellency told an amusing anecdote of a distinguished Peninsular Officer, who offered to stand as a target all day long, provided the distance was 300 yards and the marksman promised to aim correctly. The carbine I used in the *Residency* has been carefully preserved by me up to the present time.

situated at the extreme south of the intrenchment and forming one of the outposts in that quarter. It was, throughout the siege, much exposed to the enemy's fire. By the end of the siege this house had been so battered as to become almost untenable. It was built after the usual style of native houses, having a square of one-storied buildings with a two-storied reception room in the centre, and, I need hardly say, it was quite inadequate to our requirements. We continued our school studies in the intrenchment till the day of the battle of Chinhut, after which the boys and masters were compelled to give their attention to other duties. On that day all our servants, except the Cook and *Bhistee*, (water carrier, who was shot, but the Cook is still in the service of the college) left us, and thereafter the boys had themselves to do all the drudgery usually performed by menials.

43. Sir Henry Lawrence's exertions to provision the garrison were unceasing. The Commissariat Department was constantly at work getting in, from the district and elsewhere, grain, which, with a large quantity of *ghee* and oil, were stored in the Church within the precincts of the *Residency*. The swimming bath on the east of the General Hospital was filled with wheat. Stores of firewood and charcoal were also laid in; and the racket court was filled with fodder for the oxen. Fortunately we possessed an abundant supply of excellent water from numerous masonry wells within the intrenchment.

44. About the middle of June the fortifications of the *Residency* began in earnest; defences capable of resisting the assault of Artillery were now being rapidly thrown up. At the time when the blockade was commenced only two of our Batteries were completed; part of the defences were yet in an unfinished condition; and the buildings in the immediate vicinity, which gave cover to the enemy, were only very partially cleared away. The greatest annoyance we received was from the native buildings, which, in close proximity, surrounded us on all sides, and which, as soon as the siege began, became filled with the enemy's sharp-shooters, from whose ceaseless fire the garrison suffered more than from any other cause.

45. The gunpowder, which was brought in from the *Muchee Bhawun*, had been buried, before the commencement of the siege, in the lower *Residency* grounds,* on the north,

* In the beginning of July this was abandoned as untenable. It was neutral territory during the siege until reoccupied after General Havelock's entry.

outside our line of defences. This spot was afterwards found to be too exposed as, on 3rd July, the enemy had got near to it and set fire to some fodder stacks and tents which were close by. Lieutenant Aitken, who commanded the Bailey Guard Gateway, with a few others of his party, went out and cut down the tents, though a bright moon was shining and the spot was commanded, at a short distance, by the enemy's loopholes and the flames made every object more clearly visible. During the siege all the powder-barrels were exhumed and removed to the *Begum Kothie*, within the intrenchment, and deposited in the cellar there, where it was well protected from the shells of the enemy. The treasure (23 lacs) buried in front of the *Residency*, east of the site on which the Lawrence Memorial now stands, was, however, allowed to remain undisturbed.

46. The day before the siege commenced, (29th June 1857) Major Banks and Captain Carnegie were deputed, with a military force, to secure and bring into the *Residency*, from the King's Treasury in the *Kaiser Bagh*, the large amount of valuable state jewelry which was kept there.* This included a richly ornamented throne surmounted by a crown, studded with gems, and a variety of native ornaments. During the siege the room in which these precious articles were kept was broken into and a quantity of the jewels abstracted.

47. By the 26th June many of the mutinous corps were known to have assembled at Bara Banki, a station 20 miles east of Lucknow. Great excitement prevailed, in consequence, among the wealthier classes in the city, who were afraid of being plundered by the rebels. On the 29th June news was received, from the scouts, that the enemy's advance-guard of about 600 men had arrived at Chinhut, a large village within 7 miles of the *Residency*, on the Fyzabad Road, and situated on the banks of a very extensive *jheel*, or lake, close to which stood a hunting lodge† of the former kings of Oudh. Upon this being reported to Sir Henry he ordered out a reconnoitering party of Sikh Cavalry, who confirmed the report given by the scouts. Sir Henry resolved to attack the enemy next day, and, with this object, he withdrew the troops

* The carts containing this jewelry arrived so late that they could not be unloaded that night, and as the *Residency* was invested next morning, the carts remained unladen for several days. After we had recovered from the first shock of the investment, the carts were unladen and the jewelry placed in a room in the main building of the *Residency*.

† This Chateau was built in the reign of King Asuf-ud-daulah (1775-97). Owing to its dilapidated condition, it was razed and the materials sold, by auction, on 17th July 1891.

from Murriaon Cantonments into the *Residency* and *Muchee Bhawun* at sun-set of the same day. Early on the morning of the 30th he marched out to oppose the enemy's advance with the following force:—

ARTILLERY.

4 Guns, Light Field Horse Battery.	} Six manned by natives and 4 by Europeans.
4 „ No. 2 Oudh Field Battery.	
2 „ „ 3 „ „ „	

Also an 8-inch howitzer on a limber drawn by elephants.

CAVALRY.

A Troop of Volunteer Cavalry, 37 strong.

The Sikh Cavalry, about 80 sabres.

INFANTRY.

Her Majesty's 32nd (Cornwall) Foot	...	...	300
13th Native Infantry	...	...	150
48th „ „	...	...	50
71st „ „ (Sikhs)	...	...	20

48. This small force was under the command of Sir Henry Lawrence in person accompanied by Brigadier Inglis, and the whole body moved on confident of success. The troops, misled by the reports of way-farers who stated that there were few or no men between Lucknow and Chinhut, proceeded somewhat further than had been originally intended and suddenly fell in with the enemy, who had, up to that time, eluded the vigilance of the advance guard by concealing themselves, in overwhelming numbers, behind a belt of trees. The enemy was found drawn up right in front of the village of Ismailganj, in great force, with about 36 cannons of various calibre. The European troops and the howitzer with the Native Infantry held the foe in check for some time; and had the Sikh Cavalry and the six guns of the Oudh Artillery been faithful, the day would have been won by the British in spite of the immense disparity in numbers. But the Oudh Artillery-men and drivers proved traitors. They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and deserted regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers. These field pieces were, however, spiked before they were abandoned.

49. The elephants attached to the limber of the 8-inch howitzer took fright shortly after the firing began, and ran off with it in the direction of the enemy. Every effort to

induce the native troopers to stand by their guns having proved ineffectual, the British force, exposed to a vastly superior fire of Artillery, and completely out-flanked on both sides by an overpowering body of Infantry and Cavalry which actually got into its rear, was compelled to retire with the loss of three pieces of Artillery and a quantity of ammunition, and with a very grievous list in killed and wounded.

“Full many a warrior on that dreadful day,
Brave, generous, noble, breathed his soul away,
But none more noble, generous, or brave,
In battle ever found a soldier's grave.”

THE BATTLE OF CHINHUT.

An account of the battle, which was fought at the village of Ismailganj, is given below :—

The force destined for this service assembled, from the *Muchee Bhurwun* and the *Residency*, at the *Iron Bridge* at sunrise, and marched to the bridge over the *Kookrail Nuddee*,* which is a small stream intersecting the *Fyzabad* road about halfway between the *Residency* and *Chinhut*. So far the road was metalled, but beyond this the first difficulties were experienced, as the path there was the summit of an unfinished embankment of loose earth. After a halt under the blazing sun the force moved slowly on. After proceeding about a mile and a half the videttes were fired upon from the village of Ismailganj on the road to *Chinhut*. The troops were still in column when they were fired upon with round shot. The enemy now became visible, occupying some mango-groves. Our line was at once deployed and the guns brought into position. The howitzer returned the fire of the enemy with effect. The field-pieces also fired with round shot, when the rebels moved off and it was thought that the day was won; but, instead of retreating the enemy only changed their position and then continued to cannonade almost simultaneously with ours, while their skirmishers kept advancing, and, in a short time, gained full possession of the village of Ismailganj from which they poured a

* The natives have such faith in the waters of this stream (*Kookrail*, from the Hindee word ‘*Kooker*’ a dog) being a prophylactic against Hydrophobia, that they, from distant parts, resort thither immediately they are bitten; and numbers of men, women and children, may be seen, at all seasons of the year, collected on its banks, near the bridge. The person, or persons, bitten bathe in the stream and wade across it backwards and forwards, seven times, feeding the dogs on either shore, each time, with balls of sweetened flour prepared by the *Brahmins*, or Hindu priests, who are always in attendance on such occasions. *Poojah*, or worship, is then performed, and alms distributed, which ends the ceremony and calms the fears of those concerned.

deadly fire upon our men. The fire of the enemy was answered with great spirit by our men, and, after a short resistance, the retreat was ordered. The enemy kept pressing on, taking advantage of every cover to pour in a murderous fire of musketry. The heat was dreadful; the gun ammunition was expended, and the almost total want of Cavalry to protect the rear made the retreat most disastrous. All the officers behaved well; and the exertions of the small body of Volunteer Cavalry—only 37 in number—under Captain Radcliffe, 7th Light Cavalry, were most praise-worthy. The good services of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment throughout the struggle were remarkable.

“ On nearing the Kookrail Bridge a body of the enemy's Cavalry was seen occupying the road in front. They, however, were soon driven from their position by a charge from the Volunteer Cavalry. Beyond the bridge the retreat continued, covered by the Cavalry; and, in this way, the suburbs were passed through, the *Iron Bridge* recrossed, and the *Muchee Bhawun* and *Residency* gained at last. It was a most melancholy spectacle to witness; and all felt the deepest sympathy for the poor wounded who were conveyed to the Banqueting Hall which was converted into a Hospital. The place was crowded and everything in a state of indescribable misery, discomfort, and confusion. The ladies flocked around the wounded and attended to all their wants with as much solicitude as if they had been their own relatives.”

“ O God ! they said, it was a piteous thing
To see the after-horrors of the fight,
The lingering death, the hopeless suffering,
What heart of flesh unmoved could bear the sight ? ”

50. The pursuing enemy was stopped at the *Iron Bridge* by the guns of the Redan Battery, and, at the *Stone Bridge*, by the fire from the *Muchee Bhawun* Fort. They opened fire upon both posts, however, from guns which they put in position across the river; and with the 8-inch howitzer, which was captured at Chinhut, they threw several shells into the *Residency*. The enemy entered the city by fording the river lower down. They got into the houses adjoining the intrenchment which were rapidly loop-holed, and, before night, a fire of musketry was opened upon us. From 11 A. M., on 30th June, the siege of Lucknow may be said to have begun. The defeat, the pursuit, and the investment of our position had been so rapid and unexpected that it caused great confusion in the *Residency*. As soon as the alarm of the coming foe was spread, the servants took to flight, and the work-people, who were engaged on the defences, took the opportu-

nity of escaping. Long, however, before all the proposed batteries were thrown up, the rebels, assembling in vast numbers, began the blockade of the place, and everything which was at the moment outside the line of works was lost. By the abandonment of the unfinished works the west and south faces of our position had been left almost defenceless, and particularly the Martiniere post which was protected only by a rough palisade extending along the outer front.

51. The King's Prison,* nearly opposite the Bailey-Guard Gate, soon attracted our attention. The prisoners were seen making their escape, holding on by ropes let down from the high walls and windows. From the terrace of the house, in the Martiniere post occupied by us, a steady fire was kept up on the liberated "Jailbirds" whilst taking their flight, but it soon became too hot for us to remain there owing to the bullets which began flying about in all directions. The enemy's guns were not yet quite in position, consequently we did not feel the full effect of them on the first day. They, however, soon established batteries, and, placing guns in position around the intrenchment, poured into it a continuous storm of shot and shell. The deafening peals succeeded each other with a rapidity which suggested the image of unchecked vengeance falling in thunder upon our heads. The enemy also occupied in force all the surrounding buildings and, therefrom, commenced a furious fusillade which was kept up day and night to the end of the siege. The siege of the garrison at Lucknow, and its gallant defence, furnishes, perhaps, the most interesting episode in the history of the Indian Mutiny. It lasted for 147 days, reckoning from the 30th June to the 22nd November (midnight) the date of the complete evacuation of the intrenchment after the final relief by Sir Colin Campbell's army on the 17th idem.

EVACUATION OF MUCHEE BHAWUN FORT.

52. After our defeat and unfortunate retreat from Chinhut there were still a few hundred men in the *Muchee Bhawun* Fort, but this position could no longer be maintained. The untoward event of the 30th June diminished the whole available force so much that there was not a sufficient number of men to defend the two positions; and if the original intention of holding the two posts had been adhered to, both would have inevitably fallen. Sir Henry, accordingly, sent orders to blow up the Fort and withdraw the men into the *Residency*.

* This building, in which the Court of the District Judge is now located, was originally used as a Museum. The Museum has since been removed to the *Lall Baradurrie*, the Coronation Hall of the kings of Oudh.

The arrangements for the evacuation of the *Muchee Bhawun* were admirably carried out by Colonel (now General) Palmer, the Commanding Officer. The force moved out noiselessly, at midnight, and reached the water-gate* without a shot being fired at them. Providentially the enemy had selected that night for plundering the city, and the two garrisons were concentrated without any loss. The arrangements for blowing up the fort were made by Lieutenant Thomas, who fired the train so as to explode the magazine half an hour after the troops had left. The shock was terrific; it resembled an earthquake, and created great alarm till the cause was made known to us. Thus was destroyed, on the 2nd July 1857, the fortification of *Muchee Bhawun*, and, with it, a considerable number of guns besides ammunition and public stores, consisting of two large and two small mortars, three 18-pounder guns and five 9-pounders, two hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, and as many boxes of small arm ammunition and many lacs of percussion caps.

53. It is painful to relate the calamity which befell us at the commencement of the siege. Sir Henry Lawrence was mortally wounded at 9 A. M., on the 2nd July, by a piece of shell which nearly took off his left leg just below the thigh.† The shell burst in a room on the first storey of the north-east angle of the *Residency* which was most exposed to the enemy's fire. Only the day previous another shell had fallen into the same apartment close to Sir Henry Lawrence and his Secretary, Sir George Couper, but without injury to either. Sir Henry had then been advised to abandon the room, which was, from its high position, more exposed to the enemy's fire, but he refused to do so as he laughingly said that he did not believe the enemy had an artillery-man good enough to put another shell into that small room. He succumbed to his wound on the morning of the 4th July, in Doctor Fayrer's house, to which he had been removed, and the Government was thereby deprived of the services of a distinguished statesman and one of its most illustrious servants.

“The pains of death are past;
Labor and sorrows cease,
And, life's long warfare closed at last,
His soul is found in peace.
Soldier of Christ! well done;
Praise be thy new employ;
And, while eternal ages run,
Rest in thy Saviour's joy.”

* This gate formed the entrance to the *Residency* from the north side facing the river, and hence it derived the name of 'Water-gate.'

† It was from a shell fired from the 8-inch howitzer, which was taken by the rebels at the battle of Chinhut, that Sir Henry received his death wound.

Three of our boys, George Roberts, John Smith, and Richard Grueber, attended Sir Henry during his illness. The first named, who was the senior boy, rendered very great service to the Doctors (Fayrer, Partridge and Ogilvie) in procuring water for washing Sir Henry's wound, from a well in a very exposed position, and in affording such further aid as lay in his power.

54. The news of the death of our revered and beloved General cast a gloom over all ranks and classes of the beleaguered garrison. We mourned the loss of a Chief whose unwearying efforts to protect the lives and fortunes of those committed to his care had endeared him to all who were capable of appreciating disinterested devotion to duty. Had his constitution been less shattered he might have survived the shell wound could he have undergone amputation, but, in his enfeebled state, the utmost that could be done was to apply the tourniquet to stop the bleeding, and he lingered for two days in the greatest agony. During this time Sir Henry remained quite collected, dictating his final instructions. How thoughtfully he dwelt on every point of importance in reference to the defence of the garrison, and also, when speaking of himself, how humbly he talked of his own life and services! He particularly enjoined economy of ammunition and food, and expressed his deep anxiety about the fate of the women and children. "Save the ladies," he often said, and then urged that the following modest epitaph, which his tomb now bears, should be inscribed upon it after his dissolution.

HERE LIES HENRY LAWRENCE.

WHO TRIED TO DO HIS DUTY ;

May the Lord have mercy on his soul.

An eye-witness published in the *Anglo-Indian Magazine* the following affecting account of his last illness :—

THE LAST HOURS OF SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.*

"It is impossible to describe the feeling that overcame one on hearing, early in the morning of the 2nd July, and only two days after the commencement of the siege, the sad report, 'Sir Henry is killed!' But he was not dead. A mournful Company was soon seen bearing

* Henry Montgomery Lawrence, the son of Colonel Lawrence, was born at Matura, in Ceylon, on the 28th June 1806. Matura is celebrated for its diamonds, and a lady at Galle one day asked Mrs. Lawrence if she had brought any with her. "Yes," said the mother, with a pride above jewels, and called in the nurse with Henry. "There's *my* Matura diamond!"

his shattered frame across the open position from the scene of the disaster to Doctor Fayrer's garrison. The enemy was attacking heavily, yet many braved all, and with horror-struck faces quickly gathered around the couch of their grievously-wounded and beloved Chief, in the open verandah, where he was first laid. It was a terrible wound; the fragment of a shell had struck and partly carried away the under portion of the thigh. He was quite sensible to everything around him, and, during examination by the medical men, asked frequently, but calmly, how long he had to live. When one of them, more directly appealed to, pronounced, with sorrowing hesitation, the fatal verdict, 'Not many hours, Sir,' he turned to the Chaplain for the Church's ministrations. The enemy (who throughout the siege had the best intelligence) would appear to have already known of our Chief's state and his place of shelter. Almost immediately after his removal from his own quarters a close continuous fire poured in on Doctor Fayrer's house, and the balls were flying thick as we gathered round to partake of what was to him, and to many others also, the last sacrament. Not one of us was touched! Yet scarcely had he been removed into an inner room and our party dispersed, when two casualties occurred at the very place where we had so lately stood and knelt, the officer in command of the guard and a private were seriously wounded.

"The Communion ended, he lay, for nearly an hour, talking during the intervals of severe pain. Who will forget the deep humility and penitence expressed by this good and noble man for the sins and short-comings of his life, and the meek, yet steadfast, faith in his Saviour? He spoke most unreservedly of those things in affectionately warning solicitude for the friends around him. He had words of counsel for all in his farewell; some he thanked tenderly for their service and affection; but it was, perhaps, still more touching to listen to his appeals for forgiveness from others, to whom, in the course of his duty, he imagined, that he might have spoken, or acted, harshly. His directions for our conduct of the defence were most decided. He appointed Major Banks and Colonel Inglis as his successors in command (the latter subordinate) and distinctly declared that it should be in military hands. He had acted most wisely; and now, he said, that there was nothing but to fight and to endure. There was to be no thought of making terms; relief might be looked for in a month, but if two should elapse before succour came, we must still hope on; and, rather than surrender, die to a man. The thought of the women and children he was leaving in

such peril seemed to affect him deeply. 'God help the poor women and children;' 'Take care of the poor women and children,' was his frequent cry. The fear for them, and for the future well-doing of his own foster-child—the Asylum—distressed him much. Over and over again he reiterated the words 'Don't let them forget the Asylum,' alternated with that other cry, 'The poor women and children.'

"He evidently foresaw the great difficulty of a friendly advance on our position. A force of two thousand Europeans was the smallest, he said, that should be permitted to attempt it, and we were, by repeated messages, to impress this on the leader of the looked for relieving troops. No possible means of securing the safety of the garrison escaped him, even in that time of greatest personal need. We had some State prisoners of rank closely allied to those known to be amongst the most active of our foes. In case our provisions began to fail, he enjoined us to endeavour to make use of the influence of these men in obtaining supplies.

"After urging many similar likely ways of making the best of our precarious state, he turned his thoughts to more personal concerns; and, though his last words for his own dear ones were especially addressed to a near relative in attendance at his side, they had a wonderful interest for, and effect on, all those who were privileged to hear the uttered promptings of that thoughtful, tender, unselfish heart. No one was forgotten: brothers, sisters, friends, all remembered in that hour. Even the few faithful native servants, who were sobbing out their grief in the back-ground, were summoned to the front, rewarded, and consoled. Nay, his very horse (*Ludakee*), an old favorite, brought into the *Residency* with him, was affectionately commended to his nephew's care.

"He thought his end nearer than was said; indeed, he prayed that death might come and ease him of his pangs. The chloroform, occasionally administered, had not much effect in deadening his suffering, and, on reviving once from its partial influence, he spoke of his burial. 'Let there be no fuss about me—Let me be buried with the men: No nonsense'—'Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty;'—All this in disjointed sentences, speaking as it were, to himself; and then, turning to the Chaplain, (Rev. J. P. Harris) he said, 'I should like a text of Scripture added:'

'To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against Him.' 'Isn't it from Daniel?'

It was on my dear wife's tomb.' And then, once more, (after a short silence and an evident inward-dwelling on his offences,) 'Don't let me be maligned;' in reference, probably, to the fatal advance on Chinhut but two days before, which, to his oft-declared bitter remorse, he had been over persuaded by others, against his own judgment, to attempt, and which, doubtless, had, by its unfortunate issue, at last precipitated the investment.

"At length he became drowsy, and we moved him into a room adjoining the verandah, barricading the doors and windows, as best we could, against the musketry-fire which now literally showered in. From henceforth he was made over to woman's tender care. He never again spoke very connectedly, though he many times during that and the succeeding day, followed the Chaplain as he repeated the prayers for the sick, even when, apparently, insensible to outward things. His bodily sufferings were occasionally excruciating, though his patience and self-control were exemplary, and his grateful words and looks for those ministering to him were affecting beyond measure. Once the question was raised as to whether an operation might not yet save his life; but his prayers against it prevailed, and, indeed, the unanimous medical opinion was, that, in this particular case, it would kill outright: He wished to die, but in peace, and in God's good time.

"And so it went on, until the morning of the 4th, when the end came, very quietly in the midst of prayer, after some previous half-intelligible mutterings, of which 'the Asylum' was still the chief burden. I think he was spared the trial of knowing that his nephew 'George,' whom he loved so much, and who, not long before, had received his blessing, was kneeling bleeding by his side, shot through the shoulder.

"What an irreparable loss did it seem when he was really gone! His character was, perhaps, perfectly drawn by a friend, who followed him within a few days from this trial-world, and who came from his post 'to see,' as he said, 'yet once again a true Christian Gentleman.' He has been called (and how truly!) the 'Soldiers Friend.' That soldiers loved him cannot be doubted. The following incident would, of itself, prove this:—Those who had undertaken that labor of love, the preparing his body for the burial, being unable of themselves to remove it from the house, a call for assistance was made on the men working the guns outside.

"A party came, begrimed and heated from the fight, and

when told the nature of the service, and for whom required, they first knelt down, subdued and sorrowing, by the bedside, and, lifting the covering sheet from his face, one by one, lovingly and reverently kissed it.

“He was as he wished, ‘buried with the men’ in the same grave.

“While the expiring veteran was thus, with calm and steady tones giving his last parting instructions, all around shot and shell were crashing, and hostile cannons booming, and the very earth shaking under the incessant explosions.”

55. His services, particularly in the Punjab, of which he was one of the earliest and most successful administrators, entitled him to a foremost place among Indian Statesmen; but even could these be forgotten, the noble institutions founded by his munificence on the heights of the Himalayas, of Mount Abu, and of the Nilgiris, which bear his name as their founder, and in which the children of European soldiers serving in India are duly cared for, would suffice to keep his memory in perpetual and honored remembrance. “No military honors,” says one who was present, “marked our last act to his corpse. The times were too stern for such demonstrations of respect. A hurried prayer, amid the booming of the enemy’s artillery, was read over his remains, and he was buried at the same time with several others, though lowlier companions in arms.” And so mournfully closed the 4th July over Lucknow.

56. Sir Henry nominated Major Banks* his successor as the Chief Civil authority; Colonel Inglis to command the troops of the garrison; and Major Anderson† to command the Artillery and direct Engineering operations. Our eventual success in defending the *Residency* position is, under Providence, mainly attributable to the foresight which Sir Henry evinced in the timely commencement of the necessary operations, and the great skill and untiring personal activity which he exhibited in carrying them into effect.

57. The first sortie made into Johannes’ house was on the 7th July; it took place at noon and was perfectly successful. The enemy, who crowded the building, made no resistance but fled. There was a loss of only a few men on our side, while numbers of the “*babalog*,” or “children,” (a term of endearment by which old Company’s officers used to address the

* Major Banks was shot, through the head, on the 21st July 1857 in Mr. Gubbins’ Post.

† Major Anderson died of dysentery on the 11th August 1857.

sepoys in whom they had reposed such confidence) who were found asleep and hiding in chests, were killed after a hand-to-hand struggle. We, at the Martiniere post, and officers from the Brigade Mess, acted as a covering party to the brave few who, on this and every subsequent occasion, charged the enemy on our side of the garrison.

58. Later in the siege the Martiniere post suffered severely from the fire of the guns in Phillips' garden battery* which kept up an incessant cannonade until it demolished the range of houses on the south-east corner that had rendered us substantial protection from that quarter. Though our post was in a very exposed part of the garrison, being only separated by a road about 20 feet wide from the godowns of Johannes' house which were occupied in force by the rebels, no boy, or master, was killed by the enemy. Two boys were certainly wounded, *viz.*, James Luffman under the left clavicle, and John Smith in the left thigh; but, being well cared for by the teachers, they both recovered. Owing to exposure and bad food there was a good deal of sickness among the boys and masters, but only two cases ended fatally (George Reid and Carapiet Arathoon) among 65 boys during the entire period of the siege. The mortality among the women and children, especially the latter, from disease and other causes was, perhaps, the most painful characteristic of the siege. Some parents who had children in good health when the siege began had not one left when it ended. Menial work fell on the ladies in consequence of the desertion of their servants. Several of them had to tend their children and even to wash their own clothes, gather their own sticks and light their own fire, as well as cook their scanty meals, entirely unaided, while a few, more fortunate than the rest, had the assistance of Martiniere boys. The want of proper food and accommodation was, probably, the cause of much of the disease with which we were afflicted.

59. We boys that carried arms used to take ten, or twenty rounds, go up to the top of the house in which we were located, and fire through the loop-holes at whatever seemed a fair target. There were pumpkins, and other vegetables which would have made a welcome addition to our cuisine, growing in Johannes' garden, outside the line of our defence. We found it very tantalizing to know that we must not venture to forage in this garden: for the vigilance of the enemy's marks-men was untiring, and they never lost an opportunity of picking off any

* This was the enemy's battery situated on the site now occupied by the Bulrampore Hospital. It was captured on the 2nd October 1857. Opposite to this, on the west, now stands the 'Bulrampore Female Hospital' which was opened by His Royal Highness, Prince Albert Victor, on 18th January 1890.

member of the garrison who was so incautious as to expose himself. Seeing that the coveted vegetables were not available for us, we did our best to make them unfit for use by the enemy, and found some diversion in firing at the gourds. This sport, however, was ultimately put a stop to under the following circumstance :—A few days after the boy Smith had been hit by one of the enemy's marksmen located in the godown facing our post, Luffman and myself, with the intention of avenging this, went up to the roof to try and get a pot-shot at the rascal ; we both used the same loop-hole. While on the lookout, one of the lads, S. Hornby, came up to the roof with a supply of ammunition, and, while our attention was thus diverted, our mutinous opponent across the way fired at us. His bullet struck Luffman's musket, glanced along the barrel, and lodged in his left shoulder. He, as already mentioned, fortunately recovered, but we both received a very severe reprimand from the Principal, and our target practice had to be discontinued owing to the ammunition being put out of our reach.

60. On the 20th July, the memorable day of the first and most serious general attack, when going across the court-yard from one building to the other, a half-spent 24-pound shot passed between my legs and struck a tree (a wood-apple which is still standing) on my left. This may be considered a very narrow escape, but, in the garrison, such things were of every day occurrence. On this day our entire position was assailed on all sides by a terrible fire of round shot and musketry, under cover of which the enemy advanced boldly to the attack. They also appeared in great numbers on our side, and several were shot down close to our defences at the Martinière Post. The result of the day's fight was cheering. The enemy had done their worst, and the engagement, which lasted the whole day, ended with a heavy loss on their side as will be seen from the following graphic account by one of the beleaguered garrison.

THE "GRAND ATTACK."

"The enemy had now succeeded—so far as the eye could see—in surrounding us on all sides ; and were gathered in thousands, and were still gathering. We could not form, however, any idea of the number against which we had to contend. According to some native accounts the number did not fall short of, if it did not exceed, 40,000 men. Other accounts again placed the figure much higher. Our strength, on the other hand, did not exceed 800—at most 900 Europeans and natives both included—and even, of this number, it is doubtful if all were physically capable of bearing arms. Of course, in such a matter,

implicit reliance could not be placed on native reports. The tendency would rather be to underrate, than otherwise, the strength of the force opposed to us—moreover, as matters stood at the time, it is quite conceivable that the strength of the enemy may have fluctuated during almost every moment of the attack as the reserves, massed in the adjoining buildings, came out and took part against us. There was nothing to prevent this, inasmuch as the distribution of the reserves at certain points was provided in the plan of operations settled for the day. Prior to the mutiny the population of the city of Lucknow was computed at 6 or 700,000 souls. There was, therefore, no limit, at that period, to the resources of the enemy in men as well as in material. They may have commanded 100,000 on the occasion if they chose to do so—all their strength, and all their energies, were now concentrated upon the accomplishment of one object—and they left no stone unturned to secure it. All the evil-disposed—and their number was legion—as well as the rabble of the city were, apparently, associated in the attack, headed and assisted by the great body of the mutineers, regulars and irregulars, locals and police. And, independently of these, thousands flocked in from the districts in quest of plunder and for other purposes. And, animated as we knew these were, by the worst of motives, and most hostile intentions, it may be well imagined they were only too eager to avail themselves of any opportunity which might offer to take part against the garrison, assured as they had been, of ultimate success, and unbounded license. It was now apparent, at any rate, that the gathering was pre-concerted—we afterwards learnt that it was so. All had not yet, however, reached their destination, but as time wore on the general combinations of the enemy became more and more manifest, and as each scene in the great drama was being gradually unfolded, nothing was to be seen but the movements of men, and increased energy on the part of the enemy, destined, of course, for some object, and that object did not take long in showing itself. The attack had already considerably developed, only the object of each move was now becoming more apparent. At length when everything had been arranged and method introduced in aid of the operations, the enemy lost no time in pressing the attack with even greater vigour. Uniting as one body—losing sight of their mutual animosities for the moment, they now made frantic efforts to dislodge us. There was no mistaking the nature of the assault, as well as the spirit with which the enemy was inspired—we, on our part, were, in the meantime, calmly awaiting the foe. It must be admitted that, in these desperate attempts to achieve success, the enemy were not daunted for sometime by the concentrated fire of the garrison, although considering the number of the attacking

force, and the proximity of the enemy, the fire must have told fearfully on them. This we could occasionally perceive from the number both of the wounded and dying removed from different places out of the range of the fire. The enemy was, however, not to be dismayed by failure ; again, and again, they pressed forward—each attack appearing to be more determined than the one which immediately preceded it—; on each occasion, however, only to meet with repulse, for we, meanwhile, were not idle on our side. Volley after volley ploughed through the serried ranks of the advancing foe, the effect of which was only too apparent—the enemy staggered, reeled, and then hastily retreated, taking shelter under the adjoining cover—only, however, to emerge again in greater force after a few minutes respite, thus giving us a little breathing time during the intervals of the fight—nothing now could be more terrific and more sustained than was the fire on both sides. It was continuous and incessant for hours together ; the heat was overpowering. It was a July day, cloudless, the sun's rays falling full on those exposed to it. The very elements appeared to be working against us, and as the enemy gradually settled down to work, the musketry and missiles intermingled with grape shot which came from the side of the enemy can only be likened to, and described as, so much pelting hail. The whole range of buildings too, and even three-storied, stretching along from the river's brink to Johannes' House on the Cawnpore side—this side of the intrenchment—less than 200 yards off—were full of the enemy on the day of the attack, and as they had abundance of ammunition, and were well sheltered, they flooded the garrison with bullets. In addition to these, we had to contend against the thousands who came out and attempted to carry the intrenchment. In this state of things it was evident that no object could withstand the fire, if exposed for any time. No space, no building, no shrub, no tree, no plant escaped the withering fire. We were now in the thickest fight—a spectacle once seen never to be effaced from the mind. And now above all rose the roar of cannon and the dreadful crash of artillery, the cannon balls all the while flying in every direction, crashing through buildings, trees, and every object which lay in their course, and obstructing their passage, carrying death and destruction in every quarter. Added to all this was the din of war, and the yet more terrible yells and shouts of the outside enemy as they came up, from time to time, along and within a few yards of the whole line of the intrenchment, manifesting a determination to carry everything before them.

“Such was the scene which met the gaze on all sides, as the atmosphere, clearing at intervals, gave us time and opportunity

to see about us. And here, it may be observed, the noise and tumult were something awful—almost deafening. The smoke, too, which now encircled the whole place, added, if anything could add, to the horrors of the scene ; it was, if possible, more dense than the worst of London fogs. In vain we tried to see. We could not do so for the thick veil which encircled and surrounded us—nothing indeed could be seen, do what you may, except at intervals, whilst the look of the atmosphere was at once ominous and lowering. The whole panorama, at this stage, can only be described as truly appalling. We did not know at what moment the enemy might not close. They appeared so near at one time, that, we thought, the long expected end had at last come. It was terribly trying for the time being ; and nothing which we could do was sufficient to shake off the idea of the certainty of the approaching crisis. Language alone fails to convey to the imagination the mental torture of the moment—nor picture that terrible suspense—foreboding a possible catastrophe,—those agonizing thoughts which durst not find expression by word, or act, lest they should damp energies, or communicate to others what we endeavoured, but vainly endeavoured, to suppress in ourselves. If there remained any one way, or means of escape from this all absorbing feeling, it was in the excitement of the time, in the din of battle, as the multitude came on surging up to within the very walls of the defences. Then it was to behold a scene which baffles all description and which has fallen to the lot of few to witness. *Grand* and *majestie* beyond all compare in all its terrible outlines as the enemy advanced led by the best and bravest spirits among them, holding in their hands banners of different colors, and carrying flags which to them were symbols of certain victory ; crying out at the same time “ *Ali ! Ali !* ” and “ *Din ! Din !* ”* in a tone and under circumstances which left no doubt on the mind as to the passions which swayed the multitude, and we knew what all this meant.

“ At length the long deferred crisis had arrived. And it was
Catastrophe averted. now felt that the time had come,

Extract from Routledge's work.

On the 12th August 1857, a month before the assault of Delhi, and a month after the massacre of the women and children at Cawnpore, Colonel Inglis stated his force to General Havelock, as numbering 350 Europeans and 300 Natives in charge of 220 women, 230 children, and 120 sick.

in order to avert the consequences of a great and impending catastrophe,—terrible to contemplate—terrible too, by reason of the consequences which would inevitably have followed failure at the critical time, for, then, indeed, *a wail would have ascended*

* “ *Ali* was son-in-law to the prophet Mahommet and “ *Din* ” signifies religion, so that they were, in giving utterance to these words, appealing to *Ali* for aid in behalf of their religion.

which would have sent a thrill throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world. We felt the impulse. We rose to the occasion. We realized, as it were, intuitively the magnitude of the responsibility, and we girt ourselves for the great fight which was to decide the fate of so many hundreds of human beings. Everything now depended upon the display of the innate energies, and resources, the fortitude, the courage of the race, the genius of the national character—for death itself, in the then state of our minds, had lost its terrors; and it would have been welcome, nay, doubly welcome, even in the worst of forms, could we only have been assured that the young and helpless, the sick and the wounded would have escaped the fate, which we, alas, but too well knew awaited them, if we failed at the last moment to repel the assaults of a cruel, unrelenting, and uncompromising foe. It was this terrible feeling, this overpowering dread of what would be the fate of others if anything happened which preyed upon our minds, and roused in us a determination, if possible,—more than human,—to resist to the last, come what may, and yet not without hope in the great and righteous cause in which we were engaged.

“It was thus in the darkest hour of our trial when almost every hope had fled, wearied and exhausted —when despair had almost seized us, that we found that we were *not alone*. Our steadfastness and faith were about to be rewarded. Our drooping spirits once more

revived, for, just at this juncture, in the very height of the crisis, through God's providence, the tide turned *against* the enemy and in our favor. And what a relief, and at such a stage? The sudden transition from the deepest despondency and despair to intense and great joy was, of course, only too obvious, though there was no open demonstration of it. In some countenances there was not even the outward expression of any change. It instilled in us, as it were, a fresh lease of life, as we saw the enemy gradually, but sullenly give way, reel, and then retreat, scattered by the fire to which they were exposed. We redoubled our efforts, and those efforts were not to prove unavailing. In vain the enemy now came up to the assault. They found that they had a terrible foe to deal with. Every attempt proved abortive. Again and again they were repulsed, each time with frightful slaughter. They were now in turn in despair. They realized, for the first time, the terrors of their position. They were promised and had almost ensured victory. Failure and defeat alone awaited them. Collecting themselves again, as for one more desperate effort, they advanced

again and again to recover lost ground. In their last despairing efforts—placing themselves under the leadership of men of known reputation—men who displayed a bravery on the occasion worthy of a better cause, but in vain—all in vain. These last efforts also failed and still more signally. Their very numbers proved their weakness. The strength on which they relied failed them at the very moment when success was within their reach. The enemy too had become exhausted by the very intensity of the efforts which they made to carry the position. All had proved abortive. There was nothing left now but to give way. A panic seized them, and they drew off seeking the very cover from which they had emerged early in the morning in the certainty of victory. But it was ordained otherwise. It was the triumph once more of Christianity over heathenism—of truth and principles over fanaticism, ignorance and superstition; and to this alone may be attributed

Our victory.

the supremacy which our arms achieved in the end. After the final assault we rested on our arms almost breathless from excitement and terribly exhausted by exposure for several hours to the intense rays of a July sun. Thus ended the life and death struggle of this eventful day. No other can compare to it even during the struggle of that memorable period. No other was so nearly drifting into defeat and failure; a calamity which, it may truly be said, was only averted by the interposition of a higher and unseen power.

“What wonder then, that during, and in the interlude of the scenes which I have attempted to describe, women shrieked and men grew pale? yet, under those pale and emaciated forms was to be seen the stern determination to hold out, and fight to the last, come what may—expecting none and giving no quarter, the very presence of those who were dependent on us for their very safety—and honor—more dearly cherished than their lives, made us the more desperate and the more determined to overcome the foe, and if the worst came to the worst, we were ready to sacrifice life, and in a manner so as to deprive even death of its sting.

“Such was the feeling which animated all ranks. The part which the soldiers of Her Majesty’s 32nd and 84th took in the deadly struggle, their bearing and conduct, are now matters of history. No further eulogy is needed. They have long since been classed among the ‘bravest of the brave.’ Never were a mere handful of Englishmen placed in such a trying position. Never did they acquit themselves better. But it was not Englishmen alone who shone so conspicuously during the terrible

strife which characterized the operations of the day. The faithful natives among us emulated their European brethren. Moreover, there were a few, though very few, it is true, of other nationalities, not more than three or four, perhaps, who fought side by side with us on the occasion. Conspicuous, however,

Duprat—the brave and intrepid Frenchman. Duprat, the true type of a Frenchman. In his person France was well and nobly represented.

At one period of his life Duprat had served with considerable distinction in the French army in Africa. He was one of the survivors of Chinhut. Eventually he succumbed,—one of a noble band—killed, fighting to the last. His loss, like several others, was severely felt at the time, showing how much we appreciated him, but we had one consolation at least, and that not little, in that we happened to know that the brave and gallant Frenchman died the death which so well befitted him—that of a Christian warrior. He lost everything, life, as well as all he possessed, in the cause of a State in which, may be, he had—politically speaking—no personal interest.

“Meantime in my own post the cannonade had worked its worst. Almost all the pillars which supported the portico had either been knocked down, or injured, so that the position became almost untenable after a short time. Cannon balls (not to speak of bullets) passed through every door and window—and every aperture—through rooms and places, and into recesses hitherto unknown, destroying everything in their onward course. No place was sacred or secure. All were alike exposed and searched out by the fire which the enemy brought to bear on us. A Sikh who thought himself safe, and who was firing (being under the shelter of one of the pillars) was mortally wounded, the ball piercing the pillar and carrying away his arm. And yet so deadly was the fire that we with difficulty

NOTE.—They fired a little too high and more towards the north and centre of the portico than south which saved us.

extricated him. One by one the pillars gave way, came down. The Artillery fire against the building never slackened for a moment; balls passed over our heads, and crossed our backs. The enemy had got the range and each ball told on the building. The Officer Commanding was thrown back (momentarily) by the mere wind of a cannon ball (for it did not touch him) which passed at the back of his head, as I was sitting close to him, and almost by his side. The brave man rallied at once, and worked away as if nothing had occurred. He set us an example worthy of the man, and we did not fail to benefit by it in the trying circumstances under which we were placed. It became evident every moment, however, that the portico was

gradually becoming untenable. It was no longer safe. It threatened to crush us by its very weight. The brave Sikhs became uneasy, and no wonder. We stood it as long as we could, but we found that we had no alternative but to make a retrograde movement down stairs. Shortly after we had taken up the new position the fire suddenly ceased and the enemy retreated. A silence then, as of the grave, prevailed, only, however, for a time. The re-action was so sudden that we could not be reconciled to the belief that all was over. We were terribly exhausted, but were obliged to remain on duty till late in the evening. Meantime the portico came down with a crash as had been anticipated for some hours. The debris constituted ever after a breast-work which we held to the last, 22nd November 1857, (12 o'clock) leaving the lights burning.

“ Next morning we picked up and counted no less than 24 cannon balls in the upper portion of the building. This arose from the fact that one of the back walls, being of solid masonry, was immensely strong. The cannon balls as they came through the portico, struck the wall, rebounded, and remained in the building.

“ Many women in those days displayed heroism quite equal to that of men. In one sense they were superior. They were more patient, more philosophical, less irritable under their trials, and also far more resigned. They grasped at once the position in which we were placed. The germs of these great and noble qualities displayed themselves at an early stage of our trials, and under those trials they shone forth in all their strength and splendour. These helped to throw a lustre, as it were, over the very gloom which at times seemed almost impenetrable. Their very presence, resignation and courage,—passive though it may have seemed,—instilled in us a spirit which had the effect of successfully carrying us through many a desperate struggle. They evinced a strength, nobility, and fortitude of character, all throughout the scenes of that memorable struggle which no words can adequately depict or portray, whilst in the display of the nobler qualities of our nature they stand unrivalled. In a word, the history of the siege of Lucknow would cease to be what it actually was—eminently the most momentous historical event of its character of any age, or period—but for the *inspiration* of woman. It was her example and presence which unquestionably had its influence, insensibly, perhaps, but not the less felt throughout the trying scenes of that memorable period—which ultimately tended so much to the success of our efforts against the continual and unceasing onslaughts of a deadly, formidable, and implacable

enemy for many a weary month, whilst she was also, in many respects, the embodiment of all those graces and virtues which helped to light up some of the darkest episodes of the siege. And yet in one sense more—in serenity of mind and complacency of deportment—she also reigned *supreme*, several men died during the siege having become insane. No woman died insane, nor, to my knowledge, did any become insane. Some men from anxiety and a variety of causes utterly indescribable, completely lost their balance of mind, and lived, as it were, a living death; and when the last hour came, passed away silently as if death to them had no terrors, and truly so, for they had long since lost the capacity, or power, to all appearance at least, to realize the situation. We sympathized with them in their afflictions, and mourned their death. We could do no more. We buried them, like the rest of the illustrious dead, in silence, at dusk, and even at dead of night, to avoid the enemy's fire. A few muttered prayers, and all was over. We returned again to the work of defence.

“Such is an outline—at the same time, a very faint outline, of the scenes which I have endeavoured to describe. To portray the reality would probably baffle all human efforts.”

61. To resume my narrative I have to state that the enemy never managed to inflict a wound upon me, but I was unfortunate enough accidentally to wound myself so severely that I feel the consequences to this day. A number of us were sitting, taking rest during the heat of the day in the verandah of the room in the centre of the court-yard, when a badly-thrown 8-inch shell from our own mortar battery at the Post-Office, instead of hitting Johannes' house, for which it was intended, lighted in our court-yard and exploded within a few yards of us. There was, of course, a regular stampede from our comfortable verandah, and, in the rush, I fell over my sister and hit my left knee against a sharp stone. Under any other circumstances the wound caused would have healed in a few days, but owing to constant duty, bad food, and the reduced condition of my general system, the sore festered and sloughed until it assumed a formidable appearance. The College Surgeon, Doctor Fayrer, when called in, told me that, unless I kept perfectly quiet, he would have to amputate the leg; and as amputation in those days meant certain death I preferred the other alternative. This wound kept me in constant pain for upwards of two months, and healed very, very, slowly. Much danger was experienced and several accidents occurred from our own shells. The enemy was so near our post that these were thrown to short distances and the fuses were cut down accordingly. Very frequently fragments of our own shells

returned into the intrenched position, making, in their passage through the air, a very peculiar whirring noise; and it was impossible to tell from what quarter the missile was approaching.

62. The *Residency*, which had, from the commencement of the siege, been the chief butt for the fire of the enemy, now showed great marks of dilapidation. It was pierced with shot holes on every side and had to be abandoned as a residence. We, at this time, were greatly harassed and assailed on all sides with a regular storm of round shot and musketry, both day and night, which resulted in many casualties. A great number of bullets and round shot were collected by the boys in our post. Notwithstanding that many of the bullets were fired from a great distance, they fell with fatal effect in places which were considered safe. Thus the top of the houses from which we used to fire, though protected by a high parapet, was by no means safe, for many men were killed, not by bullets fired point-blank, but by their falling downward through the air.

63. On the 10th of August the second general attack was made by the enemy, who sprung a mine, in front of Johannes' house, which entirely blew down the outer room of the post we occupied, destroying also upwards of fifty feet of palisades and defences. From this outer room, which was loop-holed, we boys, as well as the masters, used to keep watch on the enemy's movements and fire whenever an opportunity offered, but, just before the mine was sprung, we were, most providentially, called away for Divine Service, and thus a number of us escaped being buried in the ruins. The rooms in which were our sick and wounded now became completely exposed. The doors connecting the inner rooms with the room blown up were open, and through these doors the enemy, who swarmed in Johannes' house, could be plainly seen. For sometime they neither fired nor made any attempt to advance, so that it gave us the opportunity to close the intervening doors after removing the sick and wounded to a more secure position.

64. The enemy soon afterwards commenced firing, and one private of the 32nd Regiment, standing on my right, who had accompanied General Inglis to the scene of the disaster, was shot in the head by a bullet passing through a door which we had just closed. The General expressed great grief at this accident, exclaiming "another of my brave men is gone," and immediately ordered us to fix bayonets, get under cover and guard the breach. The foe soon occupied in force all the buildings round about, from which they commenced a furious fusillade, and made several attempts to get into our garrison, but a steady musketry fire soon made them retreat. They managed, however, to get

into the *Tykhana** of the rooms in which our guard was located, and this made us feel most uncomfortable as it rendered our position very insecure; Captain McCabe† of the 32nd Regiment, a gallant soldier who had won his commission from the ranks, at Mooltan, by placing one of the colors of his regiment on the breach, however, came to the rescue with a few hand-grenades, which were speedily dropped in their midst through a hole which was bored through the floor. Three of the enemy were killed and the others retreated into the store rooms adjoining Johannes' house, while those of the enemy that had taken possession of the trenches of the Cawnpore battery, with the evident intention of capturing it, had to beat a hasty retreat owing to the withering fire that was directed on them by the officers in the Brigade Mess. The wines and stores belonging to Monsieur Duprat (Murray & Co. of the period) were kept in a cellar under the rooms occupied by the guard of the Cawnpore battery. One day the soldiers smelt the wines and managed to open a case of Champagne. After this the liquor was removed to our post and was all blown up by the explosion of the enemy's mine alluded to above.

65. On the 18th August, the third general attack was made, and, despite the constant vigilance and exertions of the Engineers, the mutineers managed this time to do serious injury by exploding a mine under the outer defences of the 2nd Sikh square, so designated because it was principally occupied by the Sikh Cavalry and a few Native Christian Musicians of the Regiments that had mutinied in Cantonments. By the explosion Captain Adolphus Orr, Lieutenant Meham and one drummer were thrown into the air, but escaped with little injury. The fourth, Bandmaster Curtain, of the 41st N. I., was, unhappily, thrown on the enemy's side where he was cut up by them, and the next day his headless body was seen lying on the road side. Not less than seven men (six drummers and one sepoy) were buried alive under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated within ten yards of the breach. The enemy were ultimately driven from this position by the bayonets of H. M.'s 32nd and 84th Foot.‡ This

* The front of the *Tykhana*, or subterranean room, was lined by a range of small shops which the enemy rushed into and occupied; but after they were expelled by the hand-grenades, we got into the rooms and barricaded all the outer doors.

† This brave Officer was killed, on 29th September, in a sortie directed against Phillip's Garden Battery.

‡ On the 3rd June, Captain Lowe returned from Cawnpore with 50 men of the 32nd, and, on the 4th of June, Captain O'Brien arrived from the same station with 50 men of H. M.'s 84th Foot. These men were sent, by Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler, in return for the force lent to him by Sir Henry Lawrence in the previous month.

explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined character and the enemy were repulsed without much difficulty. The enemy, evidently being reinforced, now began to appear in large numbers round the intrenchment, occupying the surrounding houses and firing on any one who dared to show himself. It was impossible to move from under shelter of the houses without being fired at; and the casualties which occurred by persons passing on duty from one post to another were numerous. The Brigade Mess, Cawnpore battery* and Martinière post sustained the greatest injury from the enemy in Johannes' house. The turret which led to the roof of the building was occupied by the African Rifleman who used his rifle with great precision. His shots have been known even to penetrate the doors and windows of the General Hospital. This was a two-storied building with very large and lofty rooms, standing on the same level as the *Residency*, and was much exposed to the enemy's fire. The doors on the north side were closed with tents and boxes filled with earth, yet many were shot inside it during the siege. The Hospital presented one of the most heart-rending sights imaginable; and the scenes of suffering which I witnessed in this place while attending the wounded and dying are indescribable. Everywhere wounded officers and men were lying covered with blood, some with mangled limbs, their faces pale and bodies almost cold. Surgeons were to be seen busy, cutting, probing the wounds, amputating and bandaging. Such scenes were common, and, in time, people grew callous from the continued sight of pain and suffering in the same way as they became accustomed to danger. The ladies were unremitting in their kindness; they most generously devoted themselves to the task of relieving the wants of the sick and wounded.

66. On the night of the 20th August, Lieutenant Aitken displayed his intrepidity by a very daring act which saved us from a possible catastrophe. The enemy, eluding the vigilance of the sentries, made a pile of logs and combustibles against the gates of the Bailey Guard. Lieutenant Aitken was, however, equal to the emergency. Under a heavy fire of musketry this brave officer and some of his men removed the pile and extinguished the flames.

67. On the 21st August, the date on which "Bob the Nailer"† was blown up, I was washing my clothes in the

* The Cawnpore battery was terribly exposed and cost the lives of many officers and men.

† "Bob the Nailer" was a nickname for the African Rifleman who shot many a man in the early days of the siege, and who was stopped in his career by a mine which was begun from the Martinière post and, passing under Johannes' house, blew up the latter, thus relieving the garrison of a most deadly fire from which we had suffered.

court-yard near the well in the Martinière post when a large fragment of shell came whizzing through the air and imbedded itself in the masonry of the well within a yard of where I was standing. This was another narrow escape and one which made me feel very queer at the time, for I heard the missile coming down but dared not move, not knowing where it would hit. Once again when five of us were digging a deodorizing pit in a corner under the large *neem* tree in the court-yard, which is still standing, a piece of shell came right down into the very centre of the pit just the moment after the boy who had dug it came out. These were all fragments from our own shells, pitched from the mortar battery at the Post-office, which certainly proved anything but a pleasant neighbour to the Martinière post. My father also had several narrow escapes, one of which was from a bullet which passed through the back of his chair which he had only risen out of the moment before: nor was my mother without her warlike experiences. One day a 24-pound shot from Phillips' garden battery came through the wall into her room. The shot did not hit her, but one of the dislodged bricks did, striking her on the head, which embittered her very strongly against the mutineers in particular and all natives in general. Both she and my sister were, on this occasion, covered with fallen bricks and mortar.

68. About two months after the siege had begun, rations were issued to us of gun-bullock beef, or mutton, with wheat, or rice, and salt. The wheat was ground by the boys for our garrison only, and the senior lads, in addition to their own share, had to grind an extra quantity for the younger boys who were incapable of turning the hand-mill. I need hardly mention that this was the most arduous duty we had to perform throughout the siege. As the beef served out to the garrison was not fit to roast, owing to its toughness, it was generally made into stew. On one occasion, when we were standing round a large cooking pot, ready to receive our respective shares of a rather savoury stew of Commissariat beef, a large fragment of a shell came whirling through the air, struck the *dekchí*, or cooking utensil, and bespattered us with its contents, so that we had to take our stew in external applications which was not very palatable.

69. In August the entire garrison was brought on reduced rations, which were barely sufficient to afford sustenance. Towards the end of the siege articles of ordinary use and con-

sumption had become very scarce and were obtainable only at fabulous prices. I mention some of the current rates :—

Attah (coarse flour), 1 Rupee per seer,*

Ghee (clarified butter), 10 Rupees „

Sugar ... 20 „ „

Eggs ... 8 Annas each,

Brandy 16 rupees per bottle, which rose to Rs, 20 towards the end of the siege ;

Cigars one rupee each, and they rose to three rupees ;

Country leaf Tobacco, two rupees a leaf ;

A flannel Shirt, Rs. 20 ;

A pair of boots, „ 12 ;

and all other things in proportion. That unfortunate day of Chinhut precipitated matters, and, as it came so unexpectedly, people had made no arrangements for provisioning themselves ; many, indeed, never dreamt of such a necessity, and the few that had were not prepared for such a long investment. We felt a great longing for bread, which was a thing unseen and only remembered ; coarse *Chuppatties* (unleavened cakes, the common food of the poorer classes) constituted our staple fare. One of our masters, Mr. Wall, however, surprised us by producing a plum-cake on the anniversary of his birthday, the 15th October, which was very sparingly distributed in our post. The soldiers, who felt the loss of tobacco more severely than anything else, were put to a variety of shifts. They dried the tea-leaves left after infusion and smoked them. The guava trees, and other garden shrubs, were stripped of their leaves, which, after having been dried in the sun, were used as a substitute for tobacco.

70. About the end of August firing of cannon and English music were heard in the city. We were all frantic with joy at the thought that deliverance was at hand, whereupon many climbed the highest points, regardless of danger, to see the long expected friends coming. What bitter disappointment to find, afterwards, that the guns we heard were

* A seer is equivalent to 2 lbs.

only firing a salute in honor of the new King proclaimed by the mutineers.*

71. On the 5th September the enemy made their fourth and last desperate assault † which was preceded, as usual, by the explosion of mines. Having exploded a large mine, a few feet short of the bastion of the 18-pounder gun in Major Apthorp's post, they advanced with large scaling ladders; these they planted against the embrasure of the 18-pounder battery which they tried to escalate. A well directed fire of Musketry and some hand grenades, however, soon dispersed and drove them back, with heavy loss, into the adjoining houses whence they had issued. Shortly after the enemy sprung another mine close to the Brigade Mess and our (Martiniere) post, and advanced with some show of determination, but their courage soon failed them at seeing their dead which bestrewed Johannes' garden, and which bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the fire directed at them by the officers from the Brigade Mess: whereupon they fled most ignominiously, leaving their leader among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same result. While these attacks lasted we were subjected to a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries in different quarters, but as we kept well under cover, little or no loss was inflicted by the shower of bullets and round shot which fell in our midst. On this occasion the rebels must have suffered heavily, as they were seen, shortly after the action, carrying off their killed and wounded in cart-loads over the bridges in the direction of Muriaon Cantonments. These were the four critical periods during the investment, and, had it not been for the vigilance and exertions of the engineers and officers (specially Captain George Fulton) in detecting the enemy's mines before they were completed, the assaults would, doubtless, have been much more numerous and might have ended in the capture of some of our most important and advanced positions.

* "Brijis Kudr, a boy about 10 years of age, was proclaimed King of Oudh by the rebel Soldiery. This lad was the supposed son of the ex-King, Wajid Ali Shah, but the real offspring of one Mumoo Khan. The mother of this boy had originally been a dancing girl, with whom Mumoo Khan, then holding subordinate charge in the Royal cook-room, had formed an intimacy. The King, hearing of the girl's beauty, admitted her to the number of his Mahals (harems), under the title of 'Huzrut Mahul.' She received a handsome allowance, with a large establishment, of which she appointed Mumoo Khan the Darogah, or Superintendent. The former intimacy was still, though secretly, carried on, and resulted in the birth of the boy Brijis Kudr."

After the capture of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, the Begum and Brijis Kudr fled to Nepal and became fugitives at Katmandoo. Mumoo Khan was captured and transported to the Andamans.

† The attack, on this date, was especially heavy. Assaults were made on various points of the defences, and a storm of round shot and musket balls was kept up. Our men considered that the matchlockmen of the enemy had increased, and this was attributed to Maun Singh's reinforcements (see page 13).

72. The State prisoners, five in number, whose previous conduct threw suspicion upon them, were located in the long room on the north side of the Hospital. The first of these was Moostapha Ali Khan, brother to the ex-King, who was found in confinement on the first occupation of this province. He was reputed and generally believed to be weak minded, and would have easily been made a tool of by designing men. Mahomed Homayon Khan and Mirza Mahomed Shekoh were two princes connected with the Delhi family who were notorious for their intrigues. They also were confined. Nawab Rookun-ud-daulah,* one of the surviving sons of Saadat Ali Khan,† a former Nawab Vizier of Oudh, who was believed to be in correspondence with the mutineers, was one of the number. There was also the young Raja of Tulsipur, who had been guilty of serious misbehaviour before the mutiny and was then residing at Lucknow under surveillance. It is a noteworthy circumstance that the room where these State prisoners were kept was seldom or ever assailed by shot, or shell, and the impression was that they found some method of communicating their whereabouts, through their servants, to the enemy. But on one occasion, for some reason not generally known, the Raja of Tulsipur was, without any previous notice, suddenly shifted to another room, and, as this change of quarters could not have been communicated to the enemy, a round shot fired by them came through the wall and put a period to the Raja's existence.

73. Twelve of the senior boys had to do duty as soldiers of the garrison, mounting guard in their turn at the Martiniere post and standing to arms when the position was attacked. Those who did so, besides myself, were David Arathoon, William Clarke, John Hornby, Daniel Isaacson, James Luffman, James Lynch, Lewis Nicolls, David Macdonald, George Roberts, Joseph Sutton, and Samuel Wrangle. Willingly did the boys throw themselves into the thick of the work. They cheerfully took the musket, and, night and day at one of the most exposed posts, did sentry duty with the soldier. Well and nobly they did their duty, and proud may those be who can point to the medal they won for their services in the 'Defence of Lucknow.' Besides our military duty, we also had, as opportunity allowed, to act as heads of sections over the smaller boys employed on various services at the different posts. These

* Nawab Rookun-ud-daulah died in captivity in the *Residency*, and was buried under the large Banian Tree, which is still standing, near the gate of Mr. Ommaney's Garrison.

† In 1798, Asuf-ud-daulah's half brother, Saadat Ali Khan, succeeded him, and earned for himself, during his reign of 16 years, the character of the best administrator, and wisest and most honest ruler Oudh had ever seen.

services were washing, grinding corn, pulling punkhas, and attending the sick and wounded in the General Hospital, and general fetching and carrying. Even the smallest Martiniere boy had to work throughout the siege; and the whole of the garrison, the ladies specially, can bear testimony to the value of their services. I myself filled the posts successively of corn-grinder, carrier of provisons, and superintendent of the boys in attendance on the sick and wounded in the General Hospital. While discharging this last duty my father, who was at the Martiniere post, fell ill, and the Principal recalled me to our garrison to enable me to attend on him. Under the careful supervision of the teachers our post was always kept clean and neat. The senior boys had to assist in gathering wood for cooking purposes, and, after the 21st September, the date on which our *Bhistee* (water-carrier) was shot, the duty of supplying water also devolved upon us. Much wearisome labor and drudgery fell on the boys in consequence of the servants having deserted. We had to perform, for ourselves, other menial offices which need not be mentioned; and, in justice, it might well be said that these hardships and privations were patiently borne by one and all throughout the siege.

74. The houses of the city, occupied by the enemy, approached so closely to the line of defences, in some parts, that they afforded opportunities to the sepoys within the intrenchment of holding conversation with their brethren outside. The latter used every endeavour to induce the natives in the garrison to desert, and but for the timely arrival of Generals Havelock and Outram the native troops, who had adhered to us, would, no doubt, have deserted: nor could we have reasonably found fault with them had they done so, since there was no prospect of relief up to that time. Their desertion would have caused the most fatal depression in our own minds, as, with our diminished numbers and our continual losses, we should soon have been obliged to give up our outposts. The enemy had established batteries all round the position; some of the guns were planted within 50 yards of our defences, and generally so well placed that none of our guns could bear upon them, neither could they be effectually silenced by shells, by reason of their extreme proximity to our position. About the middle of the siege the enemy were known to be short of ammunition as shown by their often firing logs of wood, bound with iron, and hammered shot in abundance, which, at the short distances from which they were fired, were almost as effective as our own ammunition. They also threw in shells made of hollowed stone, of large size, which generally burst well, breaking into several fragments. During the first month of

the siege the enemy's fire was incessant. It slackened usually towards sun-set and was resumed, at intervals, during the night. In addition to repelling real attacks, we were exposed, day and night, to the hardly less harassing false alarms which were constantly being raised by the enemy, who frequently kept up a heavy fire, sounding the advance and shouting for several hours together without a man being visible. On such occasions we had to stand to arms and remain at our posts till the demonstrations had ceased ; and since these were of almost nightly occurrence, the whole of the officers and men were on duty night and day during the first days of the siege up to the arrival of the first relief, which was on the 25th September 1857.

75. In addition to this incessant military duty, the men were nightly employed in repairing defences, in moving guns, in burying the dead, in conveying ammunition and Commissariat stores from one place to another, and on fatigue and other duties. Notwithstanding all these hardships the garrison made several sorties in which they spiked a few of the enemy's heaviest guns and blew up several of the houses from which they had kept up their most harassing fire. Owing to the extreme paucity of our numbers each man felt that on his own individual efforts depended the safety of the entire position. This consciousness incited every man to defend the post assigned to him with such desperate tenacity, and to fight for the lives which Providence had intrusted to his care with such dauntless determination ; that the enemy, despite their constant attacks, their numerous mines, and their incessant fire, never succeeded in gaining *one single inch of ground within the bounds of our straggling position*, which was so feebly fortified that, had they once obtained a footing in any of the outposts, the whole place must inevitably have fallen. I would here remark that, with such weak defences as we had, it would have been quite impossible for us to have held out even for a *week* if we had been surrounded by a courageous foe. Next to God's good Providence, whose Almighty hand all should humbly recognise in our wonderful deliverance, we owe it to the cowardice of our foe. There were several points at which a dozen men abreast might have entered our position without making the least effort, and it is surprising that the enemy did not direct his assaults at them. It was thought that the mutineers feared we had mined those places where access was easy, and it may have been this belief which deterred them from attacking us.

76. I will not weary the reader with a detailed narrative

of the events which succeeded the attack of the 5th September: suffice it to say that we still underwent the same privations, sufferings, annoyances, dangers, as well as a greater loss of men daily,* and the same hopelessness of relief. The siege went on as usual, with this difference only, that, about this time, the enemy, who seemed to have been reinforced and who fired with greater effect, now became more defiant, and were wont to shout, shriek, brandish their swords, and gesticulate grotesquely on the top of houses within a few hundred yards of our position, intending to harass us by this means. Since they found they had failed in their several attempts to take the place by a *coup-de-main*, they remained sheltered in the buildings around us evidently awaiting the starvation of the garrison, depriving us of the little time left for repose by false alarms preceded by the noise of bugles sounding the assembly, and a variety of regimental calls. Occasionally their bands played familiar English tunes which always ended with the National Anthem.

“No news from the outer world,
Days, weeks, and months have sped,
Pent up within our battlements
We seem as living dead.

No news from the outer world,
Have British soldiers quailed
Before the rebel mutineers?
Has British valor failed?

Through fiery heat of summer
We've braved the rebel host,
No man amongst the garrison
Has murmured at his post.

Through sick and deadly season
Of steamy rain we've toiled,
And million raging fanatics
Have from our arms recoiled.

Weary are we. Yet daily
The hostile forces spread,
Open the deadly cannonade,
The fatal storm of lead.

Weary and worn. Yet daily
Harassed by false alarms,
We snatch our feverish slumberings,
Pillowed upon our arms.

No news from the outer world,
Days, weeks and months have sped,
Pent up within our battlements
We seem as living dead.

* The death rate, for many days, averaged 20. By end of July 170 Casualties had occurred in the 32nd Regiment only.

No news from the outer world,
 Have British soldiers quailed
 Before the rebel mutineers ?
 Has British valor failed ?

2

"No news from the outer world,
 Our barricade is breached,
 But not a man amongst the foe
 That gap has ever reached.

No news from the outer world,
 Our flag though rent and torn
 Waves high in haughty majesty,
 Bidding our foemen scorn.

What though our ranks grow thinner,
 Our courage still beats high,
 Proud of our lofty lineage
 We dare to do or die.

We'll close our ranks yet closer,
 Our foemen still shall find
 Our hearts know no despondency,
 Nor craven fear our mind.

Sadly we see around us
 Dear comrades we loved well,
 Drop down through wasting malady,
 Or wound of shot or shell.

Sadly our hearts grow colder,
 Our home lights slowly die,
 In yonder ruined cemetery,
 Our darling treasures lie.

No news from the outer world,
 Days, weeks and months have sped,
 Pent up within our battlements
 Are living and the dead.

No news from the outer world,
 Have British soldiers quailed
 Before the rebel mutineers ?
 Has British valor failed ?

JOSEPH B. S. BOYLE."

77. Having so long hoped as it were against hope for the expected relief to come, and seeing no signs of a mitigation of our sufferings, many of us began to give up in utter despair, little dreaming that succour was so nigh, for, on the morning of the 23rd September, the sound of artillery in the direction of Cawnpore was distinctly heard, thus verifying the proverb "The darkest hour of night is just before the dawn."

"No news from the outer world,
 Hark ! surely now draws near
 Sharp rattling sounds of musketry,
 A ringing British cheer.

Yes, news from the outer world,
 Pressing the rebels hard

See Scotia's kilted Highlanders
 Outside the Bailey Guard.
 And e'er we cease to wonder,
 They swarm our barricade,
 O'er bastion and o'er embrasure,
 They make a sudden raid.
 A moment's pause of wonder,
 A moment's pause—and then
 Bursts forth the shout of victory,
 To greet our countrymen.
 Then from each post and pillar,
 From every intrenched spot,
 Peals cheer on cheer of ecstasy,
 Aye from the sick man's cot!
 A mighty peace sets on us
 The glorious work is done,
 Whilst hand clasps hand in sympathy,
 God bless us every one.
 And forth to the outer world,
 Our flag though rent and torn
 Waves high in haughty majesty,
 Bidding our foemen scorn.
 And forth to the outer world,
 Our flag will aye proclaim,
 Our duty, patience, chivalry,
 Our honor, and our fame.

JOSEPH B. S. BOYLE."

As the fire kept approaching the commotion in the city became intense, while, within the garrison, all was exultation to know that, through God's mercy, deliverance was at hand, as foretold by the Scotch Lassie in her delirium, which is so beautifully described in the following lines by Grace Campbell, entitled—

"Jessie's Dream."

(A STORY OF THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.)*

Far awa' to bonnie Scotland
 Has my spirit ta'en its flight,
 An' I saw my Mither spinnin',
 In our Highland hame at night;
 I saw the kye a browsing,
 My Father at the plough,
 And the grand auld hills aboon them a',
 Wad I could see them now!
 Oh ! leddy, while upon your knees
 Ye held my sleepin' head,
 I saw the little Kirk at hame,

* A story is told that the first to know of the approach of Havelock's relieving force towards Lucknow was a Scotch girl called Jessie Brown. She was lying on the floor sick with fever, her ear to the ground, when she suddenly leapt to her feet and declared that she heard the pipes of Havelock's Highland Brigade.

Where Tam an' I were wed ;
 I heard the tune the pipers play'd,
 I kenn'd its rise and fa',
 'Twas the wild Macgregor's slogan—
 'Tis the grandest o' them a' !

Hark ! surely I'm no wildly dreamin',
 For I hear it plainly now—
 Ye cannot, ye never heard it
 On the far off mountain's brow ;
 For in your southern childhood,
 Ye were nourish'd soft and warm,
 Nor watch'd upon the cauld hill side—
 The risin' o' the storm—
 Aye ! now the souldiers hear it,
 An' answer with a cheer,
 As " the Campbells are a comin' "
 Falls on each anxious ear—
 The cannons roar their thunder,
 An' the sappers work in vain,
 For high aboon the din o' war—
 Resounds the welcome strain.
 An' nearer still, an' nearer still,
 An' now again 'tis " Auld lang syne,"
 Its kindly notes like life bluid rin,
 Rin through this puir sad heart o' mine ;
 Oh ! leddy dinna swoon awa !
 Look up ! the evil's past,
 They're comin' now to dee wi' us,
 Or save us at the last—
 Then let us humbly, thankfully,
 Down on our knees and pray,
 For those who come through bluid and fire
 To rescue us this day.
 That He may o'er them spread His shield,
 Stretch forth His arm an' save
 Bold Havelock an' his Highlanders,
 The bravest o' the brave !

78. On the morning of the 24th we heard the heavy guns of the relieving force. On this day there was not much firing about us, as the enemy's attention was diverted, and they could be seen busily at work removing guns to new positions elsewhere to check the British advance, but a desultory fire was kept up on our various posts during the night evidently with the object of covering the removal of these guns. Finding that they could no longer resist the advance of Generals Outram* and Havelock† and their brave men, the enemy, becoming exasperated at their discomfiture, now wreaked a bitter revenge on the helpless European captives, men, women and children, who were brought

* General Outram died on 12th March 1863. His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey.

† Sir Henry Havelock died, at *Dilkusha*, on 24th November 1857, and was buried at *Alum Bagh*.

out and ruthlessly murdered, on this date, in the open space in front of the north-east gate of the *Kaiser Bagh Palace* where a cenotaph has since been erected to their memory.

ADVANCE OF GENERAL HAVELOCK.

On the 25th July, being the 26th day of the siege, a spy named Ungud, * who had been previously sent out with a message, returned with a letter from General Havelock informing us that he was advancing with a force sufficient to bear down all opposition, and would be with us in a few days; an anxious watch was kept for the promised relief, but the few days expired and it did not arrive. We did not then know, nor did we learn until the 29th August when Ungud returned with the intimation that the relieving force, consisting of 1,500 men, (1,200 of whom were Europeans) ten guns imperfectly manned and equipped, after having fought most nobly to effect our deliverance, had been obliged to fall back three times on Cawnpore for reinforcements; and this was the last communication we received until two days before the arrival of Generals Outram and Havelock. The letter was dated Cawnpore, the 24th August, and was as follows:—

“ MY DEAR COLONEL,

“ I have your letter of the 16th instant. I can only say hold on and do not *negotiate*,† but rather perish sword in hand. Sir Colin Campbell, who came out at a day's notice to command, upon the news arriving of General Anson's death, promises me *fresh troops* and you will be my first care. The *reinforcements* may reach me in from *twenty to twenty-five days*, and I will prepare everything for a march on Lucknow.

Yours very sincerely,

H. HAVELOCK, Br.-General.”

To COL. INGLIS,

H. M.'s 32nd Regt.

On receipt of this intelligence many became so disheartened as to give themselves up to despair. Thus hopeless of life, existence became almost a burden to us.

79. At last on the 16th September, Major-General Sir James Outram, joined General Havelock at Cawnpore with the desired reinforcements. The united forces amounted to no large number, barely sufficient to attempt the dangerous enterprise before them. But it was decided to advance immediately. General Outram whose superior military rank placed him at once in command of the Army, declined to take it. He felt that it

* Ungud was a pensioned sepoy, a native of Oudh, who was employed in the intelligence department by Mr. Gubbins' assistant, Captain Hawes.

† The italics in the above letter indicate Greek characters.

was due to General Havelock, and to the strenuous and noble exertions which he had made to relieve Lucknow, that to him should accrue the honor of the achievement. The Major-General, therefore, cheerfully waived his rank on the occasion, and accompanied the force in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a Volunteer. Accordingly the column left Cawnpore under Havelock's command, and on the morning of the 19th, a force of 3,179 men crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats. Never in British history had a more resolute or enthusiastic column of soldiers taken the field. General Havelock and his gallant troops had to rescue British women and children from the horrible fate that befell the victims at Cawnpore, and neither shot nor shell, bullet nor barricade, could have availed against British valor in such a cause. After a toilsome march and a day's halt for rest at *Alum Bagh*, General Havelock and his men fought their way into the city, and towards evening of the 25th September, a junction was formed with the beleaguered garrison.

80. The 25th of September was an auspicious day for us as having ushered in the first relieving army under Generals Outram and Havelock—a small band of heroes who fought their way, through countless hordes, from Cawnpore, a distance of 46 miles, to save us from cruel death at the risk of losing their own lives in the attempt, as too many, alas ! did.

81. The guns of the relieving army were more distinctly heard on this day as they approached the outskirts of the city. The rabble were now observed flying over the bridges across the river. Subsequently the flight became more general, and hordes of sepoys, matchlockmen, and Cavalry Troopers crossed the river in full flight, many throwing themselves into the river and swimming across it. A heavy fire was now opened upon the flying enemy from the Redan and the Battery near the General Hospital ; and, no sooner did this begin, then the enemy assailed us on every side with a perfect hurricane of shot and shell.

82. At noon the smoke of the guns of the advancing force was seen in the city and the rattle of musketry could be distinctly heard. Towards evening European troops and officers were clearly distinguished from the top of the *Residency*, where I was afterwards posted on duty to work the Semaphore telegraph by means of which General Outram communicated with the relieving force under the Commander-in-Chief at *Alum Bagh*. About five o'clock a sharp rattle of musketry was heard in the streets, and, shortly after, the column of the 78th Highlanders (better known as "Havelock's Ironsides") and Sikhs,

accompanied by several mounted officers, were seen charging up the main street leading to the *Residency*, at a rapid pace, loading and firing as they passed along. The Bailey Guard Gate, then battered and broken, had been barricaded, from inside, by a bank of earth; and as it could not be readily opened, Generals Outram and Havelock together with their staff and many of the soldiers, in their eagerness to enter the garrison as well as to avoid the enemy's fire which was now directed at this point, rushed in through the embrasure of Aitkin's Battery, on the right, as you enter. We felt happy and grateful to that God of mercy who, by our noble deliverers, Generals Havelock and Outram and their gallant troops, had thus snatched us from imminent death; the pent-up feelings of the garrison now burst forth in deafening cheers, and all came forward to join in the chorus of welcome. Our joy, however, was mingled with sorrow for the many losses sustained by the relieving army in attempting our rescue, with reference to which General Havelock wrote as follows:—

“To form an adequate idea of the obstacles overcome in this advance reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres* and Saragossa.† Our advance was through streets of flat-roofed and loop-holed houses, each forming a separate fortress, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, but the column rushed on, with desperate gallantry, and established itself within the *Residency*. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of 10,000‡ good troops. The killed, wounded and missing (the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I much fear—some or all—have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe) amounted, up to the evening of the 26th September, to 535 officers and men.” Among the killed was General Neill, “the bravest of the brave,” who fell almost within sight of our intrenchment. Without any relief, the garrison|| had kept possession of the intrenched position for

* Buenos Ayres is a province in South America.

† After a most heroic defence by General Palafox, Saragossa, N. E. of Spain, was taken by the French in 1809, from the inhabitants, who resisted until worn out by fighting, famine and pestilence.

‡ On the 19th September, the date on which Generals Havelock and Outram crossed the Ganges at Cawnpore for our relief, their combined forces numbered 3,179 men. Of these, 2,388 were European Infantry, 109 European Volunteer Cavalry, 282 European Artillery, 341 Sikh Infantry and 59 Native Irregular Cavalry.

|| The garrison originally was 1,692 strong; it consisted of 927 Europeans and 765 natives. We lost, in killed, of Europeans 350, and, of natives, 133; of the latter, 230 also deserted, making a total loss of 713. There remained of the original garrison, when relieved by General Havelock, a total number of 979, in which both sick and wounded were included, of whom 577 were Europeans and 402 natives. We had lost, during the siege, 41 Military and 2 Civil Officers and one Assistant Chaplain.

eighty-seven days, supported by some native officers and soldiers and discharged pensioners advanced in years. We could hardly believe it when we were told that our friends had entered the garrison. About dusk a few of us boys, who had strolled over to the *Residency* to see what was up, were attracted to a spot where dancing was going on to the music of two Pipers of the 78th Highlanders. This display of exuberant feeling was, however, soon put a stop to by order of General Havelock, who evidently did not think this a fitting time to indulge in such revelry, as the enemy might, at any moment, swoop down upon us.

83. A few days after the first relief (25th September) I was sent, with some of the boys, to endeavour to pick up some firewood among the captured palaces. There we had a look at the famous Dooly Square* and could see the mutilated corpses of our own men who had been so basely murdered by the miscreants on the day after the relief. The following will explain the circumstance under which the sad occurrence took place :—

At the time the Highlanders and Brazier's Sikhs entered the Bailey Guard, the main body of the troops was at the *Furhat Buksh Palace*. The latter was subsequently conducted to the *Residency* intrenchment in safety by Lieutenant Moorsom,† of H. M.'s 52nd Foot, who acted as guide to Sir James Outram. But the rear-guard, consisting of the gallant 90th Perthshire Light Infantry (now called the Scottish Rifles), under Colonel Campbell, which had been left in the walled passage in front of the *Motee Mahal Palace*, was not so fortunate as to get in the same day. This regiment had with it two heavy guns, as well as the tumbrils of spare ammunition and wounded, and remained halted at its post during the night; but on the following day, Mr. Bensley Thornhill, of the Civil Service, volunteered to lead the way for the wounded. Unfortunately his knowledge of Lucknow proved deficient as will be seen by his having guided the convoy of litters into a square enclosure near the gate where General Neill fell, and close to the enemy, who opened a spattering fire from every point. The escort fell back, the *dooly* bearers fled, and nearly forty of the wounded were instantly butchered by the mutineers. Two of the leading *doolies* were, however, forced on through the fire and reached the *Residency* in safety. One of them contained Lieutenant Havelock, son of

* So-called from being the scene of the abandonment of our wounded in *doolies* (hospital litter) near the gate where General Neill fell.

† This able officer was killed in action, at Lucknow, in the year 1858, and a monument is erected to his memory in Rochester Cathedral.

General Havelock, and the other a wounded soldier of the 78th Highlanders. The *doolies* which had not entered the square when the massacre commenced and immediately turned back, regained the right path and reached the *Residency* also in safety. The loss of life, on the 26th, is greatly to be deplored, but the massacre of the wounded would have been averted if Mr. Thornhill had not unfortunately missed his way. The contest to which the rear-guard was exposed was exceedingly severe; and the opposition which the whole force would have had to encounter the next day and the sacrifice of life would have been much greater if the movement to the *Residency* had not been accomplished on the evening of the 25th.

84. We began exploring the *Furhat Buksh Palace*. This building consisted of a perfect labyrinth of court-yards, inner gardens, gate-ways, passages, verandahs, out-houses, and pavilions. Though we boys had often been loitering there, we invariably lost our way in some of the intricacies of those buildings. Plunder was the order of the day. Everywhere might be seen people helping themselves to whatever they pleased; shawls, dresses, pieces of satin, silk, gold and silver brocade, richly embroidered velvet saddles for horses and coverlets for elephants; the most magnificent carpets, dresses of cloth of gold, turbans of the most costly brocade, the finest muslins, splendid dresses, the most valuable swords and fire-arms of every description; books, pictures, and valuable clocks. Very soon, however, all such property was declared to be prize: and prize-agents were appointed to collect it, and plunder was prohibited. It is difficult to restrain a victorious army from depredation, but, in the present instance, the spoliation of the natives assumed a meritorious character in the eyes of the European troops. They were exasperated beyond measure by the perfidious and brutal massacre of their fellow-countrymen and women, and they considered the plunder of the town in which these atrocities had been perpetrated an act of righteous retribution, but the General was determined to subdue this propensity. For this purpose the Sentry at the Bailey Guard Gate received orders to detain all property suspected to have been plundered, with the exception of crockery, which we stood in great need of and which we were allowed to take *ad libitum*.

85. In several rooms in the palace were found boxes containing nothing but crockery; these were very soon ransacked, emptied out on the floors, part removed and the rest trodden under foot. The floors were soon covered a foot deep with broken crockery and China. Some of the sets were exceedingly handsome and embellished with the armorial devices which had

been adopted by the several kings of Oudh. In these gorgeous palaces we, who had so recently been exposed to the severest hardships, now revelled in the enjoyment of luxuries, reclining on silken couches and eating our reduced and miserable pittance of food out of dishes of the most costly and magnificent China. In the range of buildings adjoining the *Furhat Buksh Palace*, which was near the present Museum, we (the Martinieri boys) happened to discover a whole store of fire-works. This was a grand opportunity for us; and we immediately seized the rockets and began to fire them in the direction of the enemy. One of them, however, took a retrograde movement, and, exploding in the room itself, ignited the other combustibles. We cleared out very sharp and quite unobserved by the sentries. In a few minutes the whole was in a blaze. These buildings contained valuable property of some of the Begums* which was all destroyed. The place continued burning for some days, any efforts to put it out being impossible under the enemy's fire. The cause of this conflagration was never quite brought home to us, but the soldiers had a suspicion that the Martinieri boys were at the bottom of the mischief. One proof of their suspicion came home to me in a very forcible manner. A few days afterwards John Hornby, George Bailey and myself, roaming about as usual, were allowed by the sentry to cross the grass plot between the *Tekree Kothie* (now the residence of the Judicial Commissioner) and the *Chutter Munzil*. The soldier averted his face in order to conceal a smile as he allowed us to pass, and we did not understand the meaning of this until we had proceeded about half way across the plot when we were assailed with a shower of bullets, which came whistling about our ears from a Hindu temple (since demolished) across the river, this causing a regular stampede among us lads, who profited by the lesson taught as we never ventured to pass that way again.

86. It was the original intention of Generals Havelock and Outram, on their junction with the garrison, to withdraw the women, children, sick and wounded, forthwith to Cawnpore. With this view, the provisions, the baggage and the bulk of the ammunition of the relieving column had been left at *Atum Bagh*; and the troops came on with nothing but the clothes on their backs and only three days food. But the obstacles to the retirement of the garrison appeared constantly to multiply. Since the force crossed the Ganges at Cawnpore on the 19th September it had been diminished more than one-fifth of its entire strength. Without carriage, the number of women, children, sick and wounded, besides 23 lacs of treasure, and about 30 guns of various calibre, could not be removed.

* Begum is a princess, or, lady of high rank.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, Sir James Outram came to the determination to remain at the *Residency* and await further reinforcements.

87. On the relief of the pent-up garrison in the *Residency* and adjoining posts, by the force under General Havelock and Sir James Outram, the old position was extended, and a new line of defence taken up, on the north, as far as the Goomtee, and eastward, so as to include the *Tehree Kothie*, *Furhat Buksh*, and *Chutter Munzil Palaces*. These are lofty and extensive ranges of palaces, built of solid masonry, and rising nearly from the water's edge. The following extract graphically depicts the view then obtained from the top of the *Chutter Munzil Palace* :—

“ Standing on this elevated position, and facing eastward towards the *Dilkusha* Park, you look perpendicularly down upon the Goomtee, which skirts the building on your left. Beyond this extends a level plain, covered with green sward, broken and bounded by various royal residences and gardens. The nearest of these is the ‘ Dilaram ’ or ‘ Hearts Ease ’ house, which stands near the river bank, and is now unoccupied. Further on, but thrown back at the distance of less than a mile, is the *Badsha Bagh*, or king's garden, comprising buildings of some size and elegance, embosomed in a thicket of orange and other fruit trees. Further on, and near the river, lies the *Hazree Bagh*,* or Breakfast Garden. The eye then glances down a long reach of the river till it rests upon the *Chukker-Kothie*. On the right bank of the Goomtee the country is thickly wooded, as far as we can see, with mango groves and fruit gardens; the eye resting, in the distance, on the double-storied mansion of the *Dilkusha*, which looks like an old French Château. Nearer, and a little to the left, are seen the lofty and fantastic stories of the *Martiniere*. Nearer still, but yet distant, we distinguish the walls and gate-way of the *Secunder Bagh*, marked by its gilt-topped turrets. Still nearer, and to the left, stands that old renovated tomb, high on a mound overlooking the river—that is the *Kudum Rusool*; and closely adjoining it, that white dome marks the site of the *Shah Nujuf*, which is the name given to the tomb of one of the former kings of Oudh, Ghazi-ud-din Haidar. It is a strong massive building standing among a number of low mud huts, and surrounded by trees. As the eye withdraws to the nearer vicinity, it now catches a conspicuous solid-looking building of two stories, distinguished by four towers at the corners. This, afterwards known as the Mess-house of the 32nd Regiment, was named, under the native rule, *Khurshaed*

* It was here that the kings of Oudh generally entertained their European guests to breakfast, hence the name.

Munzil, or Happy Palace. Its structure is massive. All the windows on the ground floor are furnished with strong iron gratings, and it is surrounded by a moat, passible only at the two entrances, of which the principal one immediately faces us. A garden of low trees and bushes surrounds it, which is itself enclosed by a wall, separating it from the high road. Crossing the road to the nearer side, what is that extensive range of buildings abutting upon the river, and distinguished by a pavilion with four richly-gilded domes? This is the *Motee Munzil* or Pearl Palace, and that pavilion is the *Shah Munzil*, or Royal Hall. It is the prettiest building of the kind at Lucknow, spacious and airy. Here European guests used to be invited to banquets, and to view the fights of animals on the opposite side of the stream. Close to the *Motee Munzil* stands a European-looking building in an extensive orange-garden. This is called Martin's house, but was the royal library in the King's time. To the right of the *Khurshaed Munzil*, and separated from it by a narrow lane, stands the *Tara Kothie*, or Observatory, a handsome and classically designed building, erected by the late astronomer, Colonel Wilcox. And now the eye falls upon the gilded domes and cupolas, and arch-ways of the *Kaiser Bagh Palace*, which forms a picture of itself. Its numerous buildings and squares cover a very large area, and it is chiefly the creation of the present ex-King, (Wajid Ali Shah). Those two large-mausoleums, however, belong to a former age. The larger is the tomb of Saadat Ali Khan, the most sagacious ruler that Oudh has had, and the smaller one of his consort. Their substantial masonry contrasts strongly with the less modern edifices; and they are destined, unless they are destroyed by the hand of war, long to survive them. It is indeed a lovely view which is obtained from the top of the *Chutter Munzil*. But the city of Lucknow is beyond doubt very beautiful, and surpasses every city in India that I have seen."

88. Though we had extended our positions, yet we were far from being free. Contrary to expectation, the enemy, instead of abandoning the city after the arrival of Generals Havelock and Outram, continued to blockade the *Residency*; and our gallant deliverers were now besieged along with us. They had brought in no provisions, or stores, of any kind; and, in point of food, we were worse off than before, but, by strict economy, there was sufficient to last beyond the 22nd November when we evacuated the garrison. The siege still proceeded and the position of the garrison was scarcely less dangerous than before. Hourly the din of cannon and musketry went on, but the enemy made no attempt to advance his batteries, and we obtained considerable relief by his attacks being less frequent.

89. The appearance of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell,* and his army, which formed the second relieving force, was now anxiously expected. That officer, on learning that the intended withdrawal of the garrison by General Outram, who assumed command immediately after the troops entered the *Residency*, had been abandoned as impracticable, for the reasons stated above, now hastened to place himself at the head of a force commensurate to the enterprise and sufficient to overcome every obstacle in the way of our deliverance.

FINAL RELIEF BY SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.

90. On the 9th November 1857, Sir Colin left Cawnpore, for Lucknow, with a thoroughly equipped force, about 5,000 strong, including 700 Cavalry and 30 pieces of cannon,† with which he arrived, on the 10th, in the neighbourhood of *Alum Bagh*, where some of the first relieving army had been left behind in charge of the baggage, provisions and ammunition.

91. When it was known in the garrison that the army of relief, under the Commander-in-Chief, had started from Cawnpore, Mr. T. H. Kavanagh, a European gentleman of the uncovenanted service, under the guidance of one of our native spies named Kunoujee Lall,‡ volunteered to proceed from the *Residency*, on the night of the 9th November, to the Camp at *Alum Bagh* to act as guide to the Commander-in-Chief, and to convey plans of the city and suggestions from Sir James Outram regarding the route which Sir Colin should adopt in entering it. It was a hazardous undertaking, as every outlet of the garrison was closely guarded by the enemy's pickets, and the way lay through the very heart of the hostile city. Disguised as a *badmash*, or mutineer soldier, Kavanagh|| managed to reach the British Camp at *Alum Bagh*, a distance of about 5 miles, in safety, very early the following morning—an enterprise of consummate daring, which won for him the Victoria Cross and other substantial rewards from Government. Kavanagh took

* Sir Colin Campbell, or Lord Clyde, who rose to the rank of Field-Marshal and the Peerage, died 14th August 1863, in the 71st year of his age. His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey.

† Among the 30 pieces of cannon were 8 heavy guns (24-pounders and 8 inch howitzers) which were manned by the naval brigade. The 68-pounders, which were brought from the Shannon frigate by Captain Peel, had been left at Allahabad in consequence of its having been found impossible to procure the necessary cattle for their transport.

‡ Before the outbreak, Kunoujee Lall had been a Nazir, or Bailiff, in one of our courts in Oudh; and Ungud, the spy, was a pensioned sepoy, a native of Oudh, who was employed in the intelligence department by Mr. Gubbins's Assistant, Captain Hawes.

|| Felix, Edward and Alfred Quieros assisted in dressing Kavanagh. Of these three brothers, the two last named are still alive at Lucknow.

with him a code of signals,* and, by means of the semaphore telegraph erected on the top of *Alum Bagh*, communication was established with the *Residency*.

92. At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 14th, Sir Colin, adhering to the plan and suggestions of Sir James Outram "to give the city a wide berth," made an extended movement from the *Alum Bagh* to the right upon the *Dilkusha Palace*; thence advancing upon the *Martinieri College* he continued the movement along the right bank of the Goomtee. This detour was rendered necessary so as to avoid the enemy's batteries which lined the direct road leading, through the city, to the *Residency*.† The advanced guard were exposed to a heavy musketry fire at the *Dilkusha*, which was captured after a conflict of nearly two hours, when the enemy were defeated and pursued past the *Martinieri* which they also were compelled to relinquish.

93. Sir Colin now took a general survey of the country from the top of the *Martinieri*, where a semaphore telegraph was established, by means of which messages were exchanged with Sir James Outram at the *Residency*. A force having been posted for the defence of the *Dilkusha* and *Martinieri*, on the 16th the column proceeded up the right bank of the Goomtee and advanced on the *Secunder Bagh*, a walled enclosure containing a summer house and garden, which was strongly fortified and loop-holed by the enemy. Sir Colin, with the quick eye of a soldier, saw the blunder committed by the enemy who had now no outlet of escape. On the head of the column approaching the garden, fire was opened on it. As soon as the troops got into position, the fire of the whole brigade was concentrated on the enclosure, which is about 150 yards square with walls 20 feet high, surmounted with turrets, and having a circular bastion at each angle.

94. In the space of a short time the north-east wall was breached when the place was stormed by the 93rd Highlanders and the 4th Punjab Rifles, supported by the 53rd and a battalion of detachments. Then ensued a scene which baffles description. The enemy, hemmed in on every side and finding

* "All necessary particulars," writes Mr. Martin Gubbins, "being fortunately found under the head 'Telegraph,' in the *Penny Cyclopædia* in my library, the General ordered the immediate erection of a semaphore on the top of the *Residency*, and copies of the necessary instructions were sent to *Alum Bagh*."

† The distance between the *Residency* and *Alum Bagh* is about five miles, the road for the first two miles running through the city, and, after leaving it, being closely bordered by gardens and detached buildings, in which the enemy had established pickets.

escape impossible, fought with the courage of despair. The carnage was frightful, as an eye witness* relates that, when he entered the enclosure next morning, the dead lay in great heaps about the place which was strewn with arms and accoutrements of every description. Not less than 2,000 of the enemy were killed on this occasion. They were interred in deep trenches outside the enclosure.

95. A short distance beyond the *Secunder Bagh* stands a huge masonry structure, with an expansive dome, beneath which lie the remains of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, the first king of Oudh, whose tomb it is. This Mausoleum, called the *Shah Nujuf*, was defended with great resolution by the enemy against a heavy cannonade. It was then stormed by the 93rd Highlanders under Brigadier Hope, supported by a Battalion of detachments—including a company of the 90th Perthshire under Captain (now Viscount) Garnet Wolseley—in command of Major Branston.

96. On the morning of the 17th the conflict was renewed; and so stubborn was the resistance that it took 6 consecutive hours to capture the *Khurshaed Munzil*, the building now known as the Martiniere Girls' School, distant about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Constantia, General Claude Martin's mansion, in which the boys are located. The *Kharshaed Munzil* was carried with a rush by a company of the 90th and 53rd Regiments supported by Major Branston's Battalion of detachments. The leading officer, Captain Garnet Wolseley, ascended to the top of the building and planted the British flag on the west turret which announced to all the capture of the position. † THE SAME DAY GENERALS OUTRAM AND HAVELOCK HAD THEIR MEMORABLE MEETING WITH SIR COLIN CAMPBELL AT THIS PLACE.

97. The advantages resulting from the capture of the enemy's strongholds were invaluable, as freedom of action was, thereby, guaranteed to the relieving force. Though the obstacles which still lay in the line of advance were formidable, yet Sir Colin hoped that, by the co-operation of Generals Havelock and Outram, the enemy would soon yield; and it was not long before his expectations were realised, for the *Tarawalie-Kothie* (observatory), now occupied by the Bank of Bengal, was captured

* The party who was present on this occasion, says that several of the enemy, who had escaped the slaughter, were found concealed, the following morning in the turrets. They were hurled down, in his presence, at Major Brazier's command, by some of his Sikhs, and were shot and sabred as they fell.

† This is contradicted by Sir Garnet Wolseley in the *Pioneer* of 11th June 1890, from which it would appear that it was Lieutenant (now Sir Frederick) Roberts who planted the flag of the 2nd Punjab Infantry on the building, by Sir Colin's command, to show Havelock and Outram where they were.

within a few hours after the taking of the *Khurshaed Munzil*. After the capture of these positions a raid was made on the *Motee Mahal Palace*. The enemy, placed between two fires, offered but slight resistance. The advance was now vigorously pressed forward from both sides and a junction effected, the same day, with the beleaguered garrison in the *Residency*. The troops now occupied all the houses between our extended intrenchment and the *Motee Mahal*, including the *Khurshaed Munzil*. The second and final relief of Lucknow was thus accomplished on the 17th November 1857.

98. Such was the glorious issue of this prolonged contest which cost Sir Colin the loss of 45 officers and 496 men in his endeavour to reach us. But only half the design had been carried out. To effect the retreat in security required the utmost vigilance on the part of the troops : for the enemy still held various positions, in overwhelming numbers, and the long line of road to be traversed by the garrison until it reached the *Dilkusha*, the base of Sir Colin's operations, was exposed to artillery-fire.

EVACUATION OF THE GARRISON.

99. Five days were occupied in making preparations for the evacuation of the *Residency*, and, on the morning of the 19th November, the women, children (including the Martiniere boys), sick and wounded, were safely escorted to *Dilkusha Palace*. The senior boys who bore arms in the garrison (mentioned in para. 73) were, however, recalled next day, by Brigadier Inglis, as all capable of carrying arms were expected to remain at their posts in the intrenchment until it was finally evacuated. This order was very reluctantly obeyed by us as we had no desire to return to the scene of our sufferings. On the 20th we, accordingly, retraced our steps to the *Residency* which was reached at dusk after a perilous journey.

100. After staying one night in the old garrison, Nicholls and I were sent back, on the 21st, to *Dilkusha*, in charge of two ponies carrying money and other valuable property belonging to the College. In the open plain between the *Motee Mahal* and *Shah Nujuf* we came upon one of the Shannon guns with which a few sailors and an officer were replying to the fire of the enemy's battery situated in a grove across the river. Our rats obtained for us, from the enemy, the honor of a shot, which whizzed over our heads in unpleasant proximity, whereupon the rats kicked up their heels and were off, and it cost us two lads and the sailors no little trouble to catch them again. A few of the rupees "watered the plain," but we managed to convey the greater part of our charge to *Dilkusha*.

101. The heavy guns of the Naval Brigade,* under Captain Peel, were established, in battery, outside the west angle of the *Motee Mahal*, and opened fire, on the 20th November, against the *Kaiser Bagh Palace*. Under cover of their fire, which gradually assumed the character of a bombardment, the treasure with the remainder of the ex-King's jewels, (see para. 46) serviceable guns, stores, &c., were removed from the *Residency*. The enemy slackened fire under this heavy bombardment which had the desired effect of leading him into the belief that an assault was contemplated on the palace, consequently all his attention and energies were devoted towards strengthening the defences of that place in order to resist the threatened attack. Sir Colin was not slow in taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded him to finally evacuate the intrenchment.

102. Nothing was, however, allowed to disturb the ordinary appearance of things in the intrenchment until the very last moment, which was at midnight of the 22nd November, when, amidst the deepest silence, the entire garrison, leaving the lights burning, filed out of the *Residency* and passed through the advanced posts to the *Secunder Bagh* where Brigadier, the Honorable Adrian Hope's† Brigade, with 15 guns, were drawn up and held in readiness to fall on the enemy in case he ventured to molest the retreat. **The line of retreat** was through the Bailey Guard Gate, the *Furhat Buksh and Chutter Munzil Palaces*, beyond which, after emerging near the steam engine house (since demolished), the journey was continued along the banks of the river Goomtee till the *Motee Mahal* was reached. Passing through the courts of this palace the convoy gained, on the further side of it, the high road leading by the *Shah Nujuf*, which was passed on its way to the *Secunder Bagh*. Between the *Motee Mahal* and *Shah Nujuf* the refugees were greatly exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns placed on the further side of the river, but they passed through without any loss and arrived, in safety, at the *Secunder Bagh*, where, after a few hours halt, the journey was resumed, over a sandy track of ground, along the outskirts of an abandoned village (Jeamow,) north of the *Martiniera*, in the direction of *Dilkusha Palace*, which was reached in safety. As soon as the convoy had passed the *Secunder Bagh*, the troops holding different positions along the line of retreat were withdrawn, and, before dawn on

* The Naval Brigade was composed of 250 men belonging to the crew of the ship *Shannon*, and had, with them, 8 heavy guns and howitzers, drawn by bullocks, and 2 rocket tubes mounted on light carts. The 4 howitzers are now in the *Residency*.

† The Honorable Adrain Hope was shot, on the 15th April 1858, at the storming of the Fort Royea, in Rohilkund.

the morning of the 23rd, the whole of the forces reached the *Dilkusha Palace*, which is a little over 3 miles distant from the *Residency*. I might here mention that Captain Waterman, of the 13th N. I. did not leave the *Residency* till some time after it had been finally evacuated. This officer had fallen asleep in a retired corner of the Brigade Mess and was unobserved by his friends, who believed he was among the party. The troops had marched out of the *Residency* and had cleared the palaces altogether before he awoke. He was thus alone in the abandoned position with thousands of rebels outside who did not then know it had been deserted. Terrified at the situation he was thus placed in, he fled precipitately from thence, but not till he had left the old garrison far behind him did he overtake the rear guard.

103. The evacuation of Lucknow was ably carried out in the face of an innumerable and insidious foe rendered desperate with rage and vexation and burning for revenge at the numberless defeats he had sustained. So completely deceived was the enemy that he not only did not follow up the retreat but continued to fire, for several hours, on the old position after it had been abandoned.

104. One melancholy event, however, threw a gloom over Sir Colin's glorious achievement, *viz.*, the death of General Havelock, who was called away before it was permitted him to enjoy the rewards which his Sovereign and country were anxious to lavish upon him. On the 20th he had been seized with dysentery and his constitution, so shattered by over-exertion and fatigue, was unable to contend with so formidable a disease. At 9-30 A. M. on the 24th November, Sir Henry Havelock* expired at *Dilkusha Palace*. "I die happy and contented" were among his last words; "I have, for forty years, so ruled my life that when death came I might face it without fear."

"Sure if one blessing heaven to mortals lend,
'Tis this pure peace, that calms the good man's end."

105. On the same day, immediately after his death, the troops began their march to *Alum Bagh* (about 3 miles distant which we reached the same evening), and conveyed with them, in the litter on which he expired, the mortal remains of the noble chief who had so often led them on to victory. He found a resting place in the square of the *Alum Bagh* where they made his humble grave. General Havelock's son, together with Sir Colin Campbell, General Grant, General Outram, Brigadier (now Sir

* Sir Henry Havelock was born at Ford Hall, Bishop Wearmouth, a suburb of Sunderland, on the 5th April 1795.

John) Inglis and many of his brave followers were gathered there to perform the last rites to one of England's noblest dead. An obelisk now marks the spot.

"He is gone. Heaven's will is best :
 Indian turf o'erlies his breast ;
 Ghoul in black, nor fool in gold
 Laid him in yon hallowed mould.
 Guarded to a soldier's grave
 By the bravest of the brave,
 He hath gained a nobler tomb
 Than in old Cathedral gloom.
 Nobler mourners paid the rite
 Than the crowd that craves a sight,
 England's banners o'er him waved—
 Dead, he keeps the realm he saved."
 "Strew not on the hero's hearse
 Garlands of a herald's verse :
 Let us hear no words of Fame
 Sounding loud a deathless name :
 Tell us of no vauntful Glory
 Shouting forth her haughty story.
 All life long his homage rose
 To far other shrine than those.
In Hoc Signo,' pale nor dim,
 Lit the battle-field for him,
 And the prize he sought and won,
 Was the crown for Duty done."

106. On the 25th and 26th November we halted here so as to allow of arrangements being made for the equipment of the column which was to remain at *Alum Bagh* under the command of General Outram with the object of retaining the position and of avoiding the appearance of having abandoned Oudh. For 3 months General Outram, with a small force of 4,000 men, 25 guns including howitzers and 10 mortars, successfully held the place till the return, on 1st March 1858, of Sir Colin, who came with a large army for the purpose of capturing Lucknow* and the subjugating of the Province. This was accomplished after he had restored order in other parts of the N.-W. Provinces where his presence was urgently needed at this time.

107. On the 27th the Commander-in-Chief, having received some important message, suddenly marched towards Cawnpore, escorting, with General Hope Grant's Division, the refugees, wounded and treasure. A march of about 17 miles brought us to Bunee Bridge where the camp was pitched for the night.

* It is a noteworthy fact that Lucknow was defended for 147 days by a few Englishmen and loyalists whilst its re-capture occupied only 19, *i. e.*, 1st to 19th March ; and it is a strange coincidence that the last position taken by the British, the *Moosa Bagh*, was the place where the mutiny began. (*vide* para. 15.)

The sound of heavy cannon was now heard in the direction of Cawnpore, at which we were greatly startled, for we had hoped that we had done with the alarms of war.

108. All was conjecture in the camp as to what this could mean; and it did not dawn upon us then that the hurried movement of Sir Colin, in the direction of Cawnpore, was with the object of affording help to the British troops left in the intrenchment there to guard the passage of the river. This small force of about 2,000 men, under the command of General Windham, "the hero of the Redan," was sorely pressed by the Gwalior Contingent* who had taken possession of the city and suburbs of Cawnpore. That arch fiend "the Nana",† who

* The Gwalior Contingent, maintained by Sindia under the treaty of 1843, had broken out in mutiny and joined the forces of Nana Sahib.

† "Nana Sahib, whose name will ever be conspicuous in the annals of crime as the personification of perfidy and cruelty, was the adopted son of Bajee Rao, the Peishwa, or head of the ancient Mahratta confederacy. In the year 1818, while at peace with the British Government, the Peishwa had endeavoured, by an act of the basest treachery, to destroy Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Resident at his court; but the assault was gallantly repelled, and he was obliged to fly from his capital, at Poouah, and was hunted through the country for several months, by Sir John Malcolm. His power was finally crushed at the battle of Kirkee. But just at the period when he was brought to bay, and must have surrendered at discretion, he was admitted to terms, and, by an act of reckless prodigality, endowed with an annuity of £90,000. This provision he lived to enjoy for 32 years, and, after having received from the British Government a sum exceeding two millions and a half sterling, died, in 1853, at Bithoor, about sixteen miles above Cawnpore, which had been assigned as the place of his residence. Of these accumulations, he bequeathed a large portion to his adopted son, Dhoondoopunt Nanajee, better known as Nana Sahib, who had the assurance to demand the continuance of the pension. It was, as a matter of course, refused, and from that time he conceived the most bitter hostility to the English. His feelings were, however, artfully dissembled, and he freely associated with, and gave entertainments to, the European community at Cawnpore, by whom he was regarded as a liberal and enlightened native nobleman. When the spirit of disaffection first appeared among the native troops at Cawnpore, the Nana manifested the most friendly disposition toward Sir Hugh Wheeler, and, at his request, afforded every assistance for the safeguard of our treasury, which remained, for several days, under the protection of 600 of his men and two of his guns. But no sooner had the sepoys at Cawnpore broken into open mutiny, and obtained the ascendancy, than he threw off the mask and took the lead of the hostile movement. Having obtained the larger share of the plunder of the treasury, and persuaded the mutineers to place themselves under his command, he proclaimed himself Peishwa, and raised the far-famed national Mahratta standard. The indiscriminate destruction of the European and Native Christians, under every form of barbarity, who had not taken refuge in the intrenchment to which Sir Hugh Wheeler had retired, now became the pastime of this fiend in human shape."—*Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock*.

Note :—Notwithstanding the large sum of a lac of rupees which was offered, by Government, as a reward for the capture of the Nana, he made his escape, in the guise of a Fakcer, or mendicant, into Nepal territory, where, it is rumoured, he has since died.

is responsible for the tragedy at Cawnpore,* was also reported to be hovering in the neighbourhood of that station at the head of a considerable force.

109. Preceded by the Artillery and Cavalry, we resumed our march very early the following morning, and, after a fatiguing journey, arrived at dusk at Mungulwar, a village within 2 miles of the Ganges, where we encamped, but our gallant Chief, accompanied by his staff, galloped into the intrenchment the same evening, and, by his promptitude on this critical occasion, saved the position.

110. We marched unmolested from Lucknow to Cawnpore, a distance of about 46 miles, in 2 days. But for the rapidity of Sir Colin's movements and his superior generalship, the bridge † of boats at Cawnpore would have been lost and we should have been cut off from all communication with the other side: for the mutineers had entire possession of the town of Cawnpore and had advanced their posts so close to the bridge as to render it difficult to cross under their heavy fire. In order to secure the bridge and to prevent it from falling into the hands of the rebels, early next morning (the 29th) all the heavy guns with the field force were placed in battery, on the left bank of the Ganges, with this object as well as to cover the passage over the river. That very evening the convoy was ordered to move over the bridge, and it was not till the following morning that the whole had crossed over.

111. On the 30th November, when there was sufficient light to enable us to distinguish objects, we found ourselves located within the melancholy and battered intrenchments of Sir Hugh Wheeler, a scene of desolation which inflamed the minds of the troops with a fierce desire for revenge. We remained at Cawnpore a few days before taking our departure for Allahabad, and were favored, whilst there, with a few shells occasionally—parting shots from the enemy, who were encamped, in great force, within a mile of us. Our troops were impatient to attack them, but no action could be taken until after the refugees, sick and wounded, Sir Colin's chief care, had been despatched to Allahabad.

* A full account of the tragedy will be found in the book, to be had at the Methodist Publishing House in Lucknow, entitled "The Cawnpore Massacre," by Shepherd, one of the five (the other four being Captains Thompson and Delafosse, Private Murphy and Gunner Sullivan) who escaped to tell the lamentable tale. Shepherd died, at Lucknow, on 26th July 1891.

† The position of this bridge was a little above that of the present Railway bridge which was opened for traffic on 15th July 1875.

112. The arrangements for their transit were not completed until the 3rd December 1857, when the convoy, consisting of the women and children, including the Martinieri boys, left Cawnpore for Allahabad under a strong escort. This was a great comfort to us after the hardships we had endured in the *Residency* during the **5 months investment** of that place by the rebels, beyond whose reach we had now been placed by an Almighty hand.

113. Every description of conveyance was impressed into the service for our transport, and we must have presented a curious spectacle travelling, as we did, a few in *Palki garries* and the now obsolete *Buggy*, some in *Bhaillies* (a four wheeled springless conveyance drawn by two bullocks and resembling a pair of *Ekkas* combined), others in *Ekkas* (a two wheeled conveyance drawn by a pony), and not a few in the common country-cart, or *Hackerie*, with a reed awning to keep off the sun and rain. All the Martinieri boys, excepting those of a very tender age, were expected to march, but I was so fortunate as to annex an *Ekka* at Cawnpore in which myself and another lad (G. Paschoud) travelled comfortably up to Lohanga, the Railway terminus, 40 miles from Allahabad.

114. Our curiosity was excited at first sight of a railway train at Lohanga where we arrived on the afternoon of the 6th December. All of us began to look in wonderment at the Iron Horse, but we were not allowed to indulge our curiosity long, for, immediately after our arrival at the terminus, we were put into ballast trucks and carried away at a fearful speed, as it then seemed to us, in the direction of Allahabad which was reached in a couple of hours.

115. On nearing the Fort of Allahabad* we were surprised at the welcome accorded us by the military who fired a royal salute, from the ramparts, in honor of the survivors of the Lucknow garrison. The ground in front of the Fort, close to which the train halted, was crowded with the European residents, officers, ladies and soldiers: in fact, almost all the inhabitants seemed to be present, on this occasion, to receive us, standing in great array on both sides of the train, and there was loud cheering as the engine steamed in with its living freight. When this demonstration was over, we received the congratulations of the people, and were then taken inside the Fort, where

* NOTE.—Allahabad is a very ancient city. It was ceded, in 1801, to the British by the Nawab of Oudh. The fort was originally built by Akbar, the great Mogal Emperor, in 1575. The pillar in the fort, which is 42 feet in height, was erected by the Buddhist King Asoka about the year 240 B. C. The fort of Agra was also built by Akbar in the year 1566.

we were well cared for and provided with comestibles far more palatable than the tough steaks obtained from the old half starved battery bullocks in the *Residency*.

116. Mr. Schilling, our Principal, assisted by my father, now set about preparing outfits for the boys, who were sadly in need of clothes, having only the suit in which we stood and in which we went through the seige, for ever since the disaster at Chinhut, no messenger could be sent to *Constantia* to bring in a supply of clothing and other necessities which had been left there in charge of the servants (see para 41). New clothes and bedding were then served out to us; and the luxury of a change, after such a length of time, can well be imagined.

117. As we now presented a decent appearance, arrangements were made for our departure, and, shortly after Christmas, we, *i. e.*, those connected with the *Martiniere College*, left Allahabad, in country boats, for Benares, where we arrived about the middle of January 1858. Our journey down the river Ganges was slow and anything but pleasant. At Benares the boys were located in two large bungalows, opposite the Government gardens, where we resumed our studies and remained the whole of 1858, returning to Lucknow in the begining of 1859.

118. The rest of the fugitives were conveyed, in the Steamer *Madras*, to Calcutta, where they landed, in safety, on the 9th January 1858. In anticipation of their arrival, the following notification was published in the *Government Gazette* extraordinary :—

RECEPTION OF THE FUGITIVES AT CALCUTTA.

“Within the next few days the river Steamer *Madras*, conveying the ladies, children, sick and wounded of the Lucknow Garrison, will reach Calcutta. No one will wish to obtrude upon those who are under bereavement, or sickness, any show of ceremony which shall impose fatigue, or pain. The best welcome which can be tendered upon such an occasion is one which shall break in as little as possible upon privacy and rest. But the rescue of these sufferers is a victory beyond all price, and, in testimony of the public joy with which it is hailed, and of the admiration with which their heroic endurance and courage have been viewed, the Right Honorable the Governor General (Lord Canning) in Council directs that, upon the approach of the *Madras* to Prinsep's *Ghât*,* a royal salute shall be fired from the ramparts of Fort William. The Governor

* *Ghât*, a ferry, or, landing-place.

General in Council further decrees that all ships of war in the river shall be dressed in honor of the day. Officers will be appointed to conduct the passengers on shore, and the state barges and carriages of the Governor-General will be in attendance."

119. A contemporary thus describes the reception at Calcutta which was accorded the fugitives:—

"According to arrangement, on Friday the 8th of January 1858, at 5 P. M., two guns from the ramparts of Fort William announced that the *Madras* was in sight, and almost every body that had horse, or carriage, rode down to Prinsep's *Ghât*, where it was intimated the passengers would land. The *Madras* having, however, a heavy boat in tow, made, notwithstanding the tide in her favor, but slow progress, and as it soon became evident that she could not arrive ere the night set in, a telegraphic message was despatched to the commander of the steamer to anchor below Garden Reach and to come up next morning. At six o'clock on Saturday morning a crowd of people assembled at Prinsep's *Ghât*, but a dense fog delayed the arrival of the *Madras*, and it was not until a quarter to eight that she could be sighted. A royal salute of 21 guns from the ramparts of Fort William announced her arrival, and other salutes followed from the men-of-war on the river. All vessels on the river were dressed out with all their flags, and presented a very imposing sight. Along the steps from the *Ghât* down to the waters edge was formed a sort of gang-way, guarded by policemen; along the whole red carpeting was laid out such as it is customary to use on state occasions.

"At last the *Madras* arrived off the *Ghât*, but owing to some cause or other, considerable delay took place before the passengers could be landed, the public, in the meantime, looking on in stern silence, as if afraid lest even now some accident might happen to those whose escape from the hands of a barbarous and blood thirsty enemy was decreed by a merciful Providence. The whole scene partook of a solemnity rarely witnessed, and, indeed, the expression on the faces of the bystanders betokened universal sympathy for those they were about to welcome to the hospitable city of palaces. Mr. Beadon, the Secretary of the Home Department, on behalf of Government; the Honorable—Talbot, Private Secretary to the Governor General, on behalf of Lord Canning; and Dr. Leckie, as Secretary to the 'Relief Committee' went down to the waters edge to receive the ladies. A sudden rush towards the river, a thronging towards the gangway, and a slight whisper of voices, indicated that the landing had begun. Cheers were given at first, but only slowly responded to, people evidently being too

much occupied with their own reflections to think of cheering ; but as the ladies and children proceeded up, people raised their hats instinctively, looking on in silent reflection. At this moment another ship in the harbour fired a salute, but it did not sound joyfully ; it appeared rather like minute guns in remembrance of those whose widows and orphans were now passing on in solemn review.

“ The black dresses of most of the ladies told the tale of their bereavement, whilst the pallid faces, the downcast looks, and the slow pace, bore evidence of the great sufferings they must have undergone both in mind and body. And yet how thankful must we be that they have been spared other trials, in comparison to which death itself would be a relief ! As they passed, sad recollections forced themselves upon our minds, and we asked where are those who, for the sake of saving English women and children from dishonor and death, have willingly sacrificed their own lives ? where is the illustrious Havelock ? where the heroic Neill ? where so many others that have stretched forth the arm for the rescue of helpless women and innocent children ? Alas ! they are no more, but their names will live for ever in the heart of every true Briton. And though there is no monument to mark the place where they sleep the everlasting sleep, their blood has marked, in indelible ink, in the bosom of their surviving brethren, the word ‘ retribution.’ The solemn procession thus passed on and was handed into carriages which conveyed them to their temporary home. Home did we say ? It sounds almost like mockery to call the solitary room of the widow and orphan by that name.”

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

120. The foregoing illustrates briefly what transpired at Lucknow during the period of the investment of the *Residency*, which will always possess great interest for tourists on account of the heroic defence, during that eventful period, of a position, the nature of which it would be impossible to give a correct idea of at this distant date. The defences were scarcely deserving the name ; we merely defended a certain number of houses in the very heart of the city with the enemy in possession of the houses adjoining. These were so near that the solicitations, threats, and taunts which the rebels addressed to the native defenders of the garrison were distinctly heard by us. The line of defence between us consisted only of hastily constructed trenches and barricades (see paras. 44, 50 and 74). It was, in fact, a siege, not of a position, but of so many isolated posts, whose propinquity to each other offered an unbroken front to the enemy.

121. The ruins of the Lucknow *Residency* are objects of sorrowful interest which Government has preserved, these many years, with reverential care ; all the houses that played a part in the illustrious defence are now mere battered fragments of walls, broken pillars, roofless, floorless, skeletons of houses ; some of these even with few of their bones left. But good taste has forborne to do anything which can hint at the idea of restoration.

122. The grey stones, and thick, old, native built walls riddled with cannon shot ; the gateway that is sacred to the memory of fierce fighting, the scars of which may still be seen ; the deep *Tykhanas*, or underground rooms into which the light slants through narrow windows, level at the same time with their own lofty ceilings and with the ground outside ; all these and the other remains of the *Residency* buildings have been cleared of *debris* which would have littered and disfigured the place. But it has, otherwise, been left quite untouched. At the present day the course of shot and shell can be traced from the shattered brickwork low down in the walls of even the deep *Tykhanas*. So with the shell that killed Sir Henry Lawrence : the walls still stand which bore its direct shock, and a small marble slab records the evil work done by one of its fragments, of which the last history may be read on a broad flat tombstone in the cemetery.

123. For all purposes of identification the great majority of the buildings within the enclosure may be described as still standing ; and, in some cases, where those of lighter structure have gone too completely to decay to be susceptible of preservation, plain brick columns, bearing marble slabs, record the name and site. In all cases, however, the dust and *debris* that could not have been allowed to remain without spoiling the cared for appearance of the whole place, have been wisely taken away. And it is just this well tended appearance, this tenderly cared for aspect of the enclosure generally, with its trimmed gardens, swept walks, and flower beds, that throw into such extraordinary and pathetic relief the dead ruins standing all about blind and silent, yet so full of thrilling associations. Not a broken stone has been replaced when its replacement would have caused the obliteration of a fact, the concealment of an honorable wound. But not a fancy has been left unrealized which could help to make the ground itself rich with testimony of the survivor's anxious care. Nor is this made manifest by means of flowers and shrubs alone : for though the buildings which saw the terrible events of the great defence are gaunt and desolate wrecks, there are other buildings of a later date standing close by, also sacred to the memory of battle scenes ;

and these good taste has kept as new looking and fresh as if they had only been constructed yesterday. I allude to the memorial monuments and the tombs.

124. Lord Northbrook's admirably thought of monument* to the loyal native soldiers who fell in the defence, though really of the other day only, looks no newer than the tall cross † erected to the memory of Major-General Sir Henry Lawrence and the brave men who fell in the defence of the *Residency*, or than any of the many gravestones and memorials, stately and simple, that crowd the little churchyard. With an ingenuity that may be unconscious or accidental on their part, or more probably suggested by others, the native guides who take visitors over the *Residency* grounds and point out the places of peculiar interest bring the tour to an end at the cemetery. The last sensation, therefore, that the visit excites is that which rises up in sympathy with the praises lavished by their country-men on the memory of the gallant dead, and the long-lived glory of those whose earthly lives were extinguished in the smoke and roar of the defence. You visit first the scenes of battle, and stand on places where the most eminent of the victims fell, when you realize the terror of the besieged women and the ferocity of the fighting at the most advanced batteries, and then you pass in among the solemn monuments where the emotions called up by all these memories are sanctified by religious symbolism and recorded in stone.

125. Here now my narrative ends, not without earnest thanksgivings to that beneficent and merciful Providence who preserved us through the fearful perils by which we were so long encompassed, and caused our lot to differ from the sad fate of those who perished at Cawnpore.

126. The *Residency* was providentially prepared for a long siege, having been provided with a large supply of provisions and ammunition through the thoughtfulness of that great and good man, Sir Henry Lawrence, who sacrificed his life there to his country's cause. His remains are interred in the *Residency* church-yard close by, and the simple epitaph inscribed upon his monumental stone—"Here lies Henry Lawrence

* The foundation stone of this monument was laid, in January 1876, by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It stands east of the Bailey Guard Gate outside the original boundary of the intrenchment.

† The foundation stone of this monument was laid by Sir George Couper, Bart, C. B., (the then Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, and subsequently Lieut.-Governor, N.-W. P., and Chief Commissioner of Oudh), at 4 p. m. on Saturday the 2nd January 1864, the Band of H. M.'s 107th Regiment being in attendance. Total height of column, including stone steps, is 35 6." The dressing and engraving of the stone, including inscription, alone cost Rs. 4,500.

who tried to do his duty"—has quickened the pulses of many a traveller, who has lingered in that historic cemetery, filled with the graves of sons and daughters of English race who perished during that long ordeal of battle.

"Here sleep the brave, who gently sank to rest,
Mourned by the virtuous, by their country blest !
Their's is the sweet reward of praise sincere,
The kind remembrance, and the grateful tear ;
For them the living rear the storied bust,
In holy reverence, sacred to their dust."

127. The passing stranger cannot but be affected reading the epitaphs over the illustrious dead ; but he must feel proud when, looking up at the shattered tower and bullet riddled walls of the famous *Residency*, eloquent in its silence and ruin, he recalls the heroism of the garrison, which, for a hundred and forty-seven days, held this place for England, manfully defeating the incessant attacks of the scores of thousands of rebel soldiers who encircled the intrenchment with their ring of deadly fire.

128. The hardships and misery endured by the besieged during that critical period defy description, and no adequate idea of them can be formed by perusing the foregoing narrative of my reminiscences of the investment, as even the most exaggerated account would fall short of the reality.

The following stanzas from Tennyson's heart-stirring ode may very suitably find a place in these reminiscences, as they so graphically describe the siege as it is impressed upon my recollection at the present time, although years have elapsed since the occurrence :—

THE DEFENCE OF LUCKNOW.

BY

LORD TENNYSON.



I.

BANNER of England, not for a season, O banner of Britain, hast thou
Floated in conquering battle or flapt to the battle-cry !
Never with mightier glory than when we had rear'd thee on high
Flying at top of the roofs in the ghastly siege of Lucknow—
Shot thro' the staff or the halyard, but ever we raised thee anew,
And ever upon the topmost roof our banner of England blew.

II.

Frail were the works that defended the hold that we held with our lives—
 Women and children among us, God help them, our children and wives !
 Hold it we might—and for fifteen days or for twenty at most.
 ‘Never surrender, I charge you, but every man die at his post!’
 Voice of the dead whom we loved, our Lawrence the best of the brave :
 Cold were his brows when we kiss’d him—we laid him that night in his grave.
 ‘Every man die at his post !’ and their hail’d on our houses and halls
 Death from their rifle-bullets, and death from their cannon-balls,
 Death in our innermost chamber, and death at our slight barricade,
 Death while we stood with the musket, and death while we stoop to the spade ;
 Death to the dying, and wounds to the wounded, for often there fell
 Striking the hospital wall, crashing thro’ it, their shot and their shell,
 Death—for their spies were among us, their marksmen were told of our best,
 So that the brute bullet broke thro’ the brain that could think for the rest ;
 Bullets would sing by our foreheads, and bullets would rain at our feet—
 Fire from ten thousand at once of the rebels that girdled us round—
 Death at the glimpse of a finger from over the breadth of a street,
 Death from the heights of the mosque and the palace, and death in the ground !
 Mine ? yes, a mine ! Countermine ! down, down ! and creep thro’ the hole !
 Keep the revolver in hand ! you can hear him—the murderous mole !
 Quiet, ah ! quiet—wait till the point of the pickaxe be thro’ !
 Click with the pick, coming nearer and nearer again than before—
 Now let it speak, and you fire, and the dark pioneer is no more ;
 And ever upon the topmost roof our banner of England blew !

III.

Ay, but the foe sprung his mine many times, and it chanced on a day
 Soon as the blast of that underground thunderclap echo’d away,
 Dark thro’ the smoke and the sulphur like so many fiends in their hell—
 Cannon-shot, musket-shot, volley on volley, and yell upon yell—
 Fiercely on all the defences our myriad enemy fell.
 What have they done ? where is it ? Out yonder. Guard the Redan !
 Storm at the water-gate ! storm at the Bailey-gate ! storm, and it ran
 Surging and swaying all round us, as ocean on every side
 Plunges and heaves at a bank that is daily drown’d by the tide—
 So many thousands that if they be bold enough, who shall escape ?
 Kill or be kill’d, live or die, they shall know we are soldiers and men !
 Ready, take aim at their leaders—their masses are gapp’d with our grape—
 Backward they reel like the wave, like the wave flinging forward again,
 Flying and foil’d at the last by the handful they could not subdue ;
 And ever upon the topmost roof our banner of England blew.

IV.

Handful of men as we were, we were English in heart and in limb,
 Strong with the strength of the race to command, to obey, to endure,
 Each of us fought as if hope for the garrison hung but on him ;
 Still—could we watch at all points ? we were every day fewer and fewer.
 There was a whisper among us, but only a whisper that past :
 ‘Children and wives—if the tigers leap into the fold unawares—
 Every man die at his post—and the foe may outlive us at last—
 Better to fall by the hands that they love, than to fall into theirs !’
 Roar upon roar in a moment two mines by the enemy sprung
 Clove into perilous chasms our walls and our poor palisades.
 Rifleman, true is your heart, but be sure that your hand be as true !
 Sharp is the fire of assault, better aimed are your flank fusillades—
 Twice do we hurl them to earth from the ladders to which they had clung ;
 Twice from the ditch where they shelter we drive them with hand-grenades,
 And ever upon the topmost roof our banner of England blew.

V.

Then on another wild morning another wild earthquake out-tore
 Clean from our lines of defence ten or twelve good paces or more.
 Riflemen, high on the roof hidden there from the light of the sun—
 One has leapt upon the breach, crying out : ‘ Follow me, follow me ! ’—
 Mark him—he falls ! then another, and *him* too, and down goes he.
 Had they been bold enough then, who can tell but the traitors had won ?
 Boardings and rafters and doors—an embrasure ! make way for the gun !
 Now double-charge it with grape ! It is charged and we fire, and they run.
 Praise to our Indian brothers, and let the dark face have his due !
 Thanks to the kindly dark faces who fought with us, faithful and few,
 Fought with the bravest among us, and drove them, and smote them, and slew
 That ever upon the topmost roof our banner in India blew.

VI.

Men will forget what we suffer and not what we do. We can fight
 But to be soldier all day and be sentinel all thro’ the night—
 Ever the mine and assault, our sallies, their lying alarms.
 Bugles and drums in the darkness, and shoutings and soundings to arms,
 Ever the labor of fifty that had to be done by five,
 Ever the marvel among us that one should be left alive,
 Ever the day with its traitorous death from the loop-holes around,
 Ever the night with its coffinless corpse to be laid in the ground,
 Heat like the mouth of a hell, or a deluge of cataract skies,
 Stench of old offal decaying, and infinite torment of flies,
 Thoughts of the breezes of May blowing over an English field
 Cholera, scurvy, and fever, the wound that *would* not be heal’d,
 Lopping away of the limb by the pitiful-pitiless knife,—
 Torture and trouble in vain,—for it never could save us a life.
 Valour of delicate women who tended the hospital bed,
 Horror of women in travail among the dying and dead,
 Grief for our perishing children, and never a moment for grief,
 Toil and ineffable weariness, faltering hopes of relief,
 Havelock baffled, or beaten, or butcher’d for all that we knew—
 Then day and night, day and night, coming down on the still-shatter’d walls
 Millions of musket-bullets, and thousands of cannon-balls—
 But ever upon the topmost roof our banner of England blew.

VII.

Hark cannonade, fusillade ! is it true what was told by the scout,
 Outram and Havelock breaking their way through the fell-mutineers ?
 Surely the pibroch of Europe is ringing again in our ears !
 All on a sudden the garrison utter a jubilant shout,
 Havelock’s glorious Highlanders answer with conquering cheers,
 Sick from the hospital echo them, women and children come out,
 Blessing the wholesome white faces of Havelock’s good fusileers,
 Kissing the war-harden’d hand of the Highlander wet with their tears !
 Dance to the pibroch !—saved ! we are saved !—is it you ? is it you ?
 Saved by the valour of Havelock, saved by the blessing of Heaven !
 ‘ Hold it for fifteen days ! ’ we have held it for eighty-seven !
 And ever aloft on the palace roof the old banner of England blew.

Nisi Dominus Frustra.

PART III.

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF THE KINGS OF OUDH.

Oudh is a strip of territory extending from the base of the sub-Himalaya mountains, in a direction from north-west to south-east, until it reaches the Ganges. Its greatest length is about 270, and its breadth 160 miles. Its general character is that of a, more or less, undulating plain with a gradual declination as it extends from the mountain to the river. It is intersected by numerous streams, the principal of which, inclusive of the frontier stream of the Ganges, are the Sarju, Gogra, Chowka, Goomtee, and Sae. These, with numerous lesser streams and tributaries, entering the country from the Himalayan chain and Terai forest, which separates Oudh from Nepal, and flowing gently through the country towards the Ganges, without cutting very deeply into the soil, always keep the water near the surface, and available in all quarters, and in any quantity, for purposes of irrigation.

Lucknow,* the capital of Oudh, is situated mainly on the right bank of the Goomtee,† which is navigable, upwards, for many miles about the town, and, downwards, through its whole course to its confluence with the Ganges between Benares and Ghazeepore. Its claim to the title of capital dates from the accession of Nawab Asuf-ud-daulah, A. D. 1775. It is spread over an area of 36 square miles, and, in population, Lucknow ranks next to the Presidency towns. It is healthily situated, being 403 feet above the level of the sea; and although not the seat of a very flourishing commerce, or manufacture, it is still a place of considerable wealth, and the centre of modern Indian life and fashion. Its extreme length, from east to west, is about 6 miles, and breadth 4 miles. Lucknow is divided into four parts:—The first part comprises the native city, which is extensive but meanly built, and squalid in parts remote from the Chouk, or public promenade, where everything is bright and cheerful to render it attractive to European visitors and to the native gentry who frequent the place. The second contains the king's palaces, including the residences of his court and religious edifices; the third the civil station, which chiefly consists of houses of the European Community; and the fourth, the Dilkusha

* For the information of Tourists a table showing the distances and fares, by Rail, from Lucknow to the principal stations in India, is given at end of book.

† Goomtee means winding, or meandering. This river takes its rise in the swamps of Pilibhit, on the borders of Oudh, and discharges itself into the Ganges below Benares. Its total length is 480 miles and average breadth about 50 yards.

Cantonments, which occupy the south-eastern quarter and is separated from the city by Nasir-nd-din Haidar's canal. The old Cantonment, built by Sa'adat Ali Khan, was on the opposite side of the river and known as Murriakon, a name which the locality still retains. The chief points whence good views of Lucknow can be had, are the Martiniere and Sa'adat Ali's Tomb; the Chutter Munzil, (see para. 87) and Residency-tower; the Imambara of Asaf-nd-danlah and the Clock Tower at Husainabad, from the tops of which you can obtain a beautiful panorama of the city and the surrounding country.

The present city stands on what was the site of 64 villages, the memory of several of which is still preserved in the names of the Mohallas built over them, but all traces of others have passed away, and their names can only be collected from ancient records. The original centre of the city, is the high ground which, crowned by the Musjid, or mosque, of Aurangzeb, overhangs the Stone Bridge, and which is called Lukshman Tela. On this site formerly stood the village of Lukshmanpoor from which Lucknow has derived its name. There is an old story that Ayodhya* (Ajodhya) was once such an enormous city, in the days when the great dynasty of the Rajpoot descendants of the sun held the seat of empire there, that it reached continuously from its present site to Lucknow. This may, probably, be explained by the consideration that Lukshman, the deity of Lukshmanpoor, was the brother and constant companion of Rama, the worshipped of Ayodhya, and that tradition, as it never separates the two persons, would be likely also to connect their cities.

There is reason to believe that Lukshmanpoor was originally inhabited by Brahmins and that they were dispossessed by a family of Sheikhs who came down with the invading army of Syud Salar, since canonized as Ghazze Meeah, the nephew of Mahmud of Ghuzni, in 1160 A. D. This is the earliest date of which there is any record of this event, but, though every Mussalman family in Oudh declare that they came down with Syud Salar (as all English aristocratic families are supposed to have come over with the Norman conquerors) it is obvious that the Mohamedan colonization must have

* Ayodhyâ means "the unconquerable" city; and is the name from which the modern province of Oudh, or Avadh, has been called. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Kosal, or Kosala, situated on the banks of the Sarju, or Gogra. It stands first among the sacred cities of India because it was here that Râm, the greatest of the incarnations of Vishnu, was born, and from a spot on the Sarju, near Ayodhyâ, he is said to have ascended to heaven in the sight of his admiring and longing companions.

taken place slowly and gradually, and it, probably, was not completed for fully a hundred years.

This family of Sheikhs obtained a good deal of influence in the country, and subsequently supplied more than one member to the list of Súbadárs. One of their first proceedings was to build a fort, which soon became renowned for its strength. One they built occupied the site of the present Muchee Bhawun fort,* and is said to have been planned by an Ahir (cowherd) named Likna, and to have been called after him the Killa Likna. As the Sheikhs prospered and increased, a small town grew up round them, which, from the two names of Lukshmanpoor and Likna, got the name of Lucknow. It is impossible to give the exact date of the introduction of this new name, but it certainly was current previous to the reign of Akbar Shah.

To give an example of the prosperity of this town, the Sheikhs have a story that when, in 1540 A. D., the Emperor Húmayun went down to Jounpore to fight Shere Shah, then king of Jounpore and subsequently Emperor of Delhi, he retreated, after his defeat, *viâ* Sultaupore, Lucknow and Pilibhit, to Cashmere, and, on his way, stopped 4 hours in Lucknow, where, beaten and dispirited as his force was, and, therefore, probably, little able to compel obedience, they, nevertheless, collected for him, in that short space of time, Rs. 10,000 in cash and 50 horses. That such a story should prevail, however much exaggerated, is, in itself, a proof that Lucknow was then a wealthy and flourishing town.

We hear mention made of the title of Súbadár (Governor of a Súbá; or province) of Oudh as early as 1280 A. D., but the title could not properly be given till, in 1590 A. D., Akbar Shah divided the Empire of Hindustan into 12 Súbas, of which Oudh was one. The boundaries of the Súbas differed from those of the present province of Oudh, chiefly in the fact that they included part of the Gorukhpore District, but excluded Tulsipur, and a large part of what is now the Fyzabad District. Of this Súbá it is impossible to say that any one place was the capital. The Súbadárs seem to have been constantly changed, seldom keeping their place more than 3 or 4 years. Most of them were Delhi favorites, who remained at Court the greater part of the year and then came down to Oudh to

* When Asuf-ud-daulah became Viceroy of Oudh, Lucknow was but a village of little importance. The Sheikhs, who had risen in rebellion against his rule, built there a castle, the Muchee Bhawun, from whence they infested the surrounding country. The Viceroy in person expelled them from their stronghold, and, being pleased with the locality, selected it as the site of his future capital, removing thither, from Fyzabad, in 1775.

collect the revenue, marched about the districts without halting, and, when they had got all they could, went back again. When any inhabitant of Lucknow was made *Súbadár* he naturally made Lucknow his head quarters.

I.—SA'ADAT KHAN, BURHAN-UL-MULK,* 1732-1739.

When, in 1720, the Emperor Muhammad Shah determined to free himself from the thralldom of the Syuds, he was powerfully aided by Sa'adat Khan. This man, originally a merchant of Khorasan, had risen to a military command, and, on the successful issue of the conspiracy against the Syuds, became a person of importance, and was appointed to be the Governor of Oudh, a position which he retained until his death in 1739. He was the progenitor of the kings of Oudh.

With him the debate arose between Lucknow and Fyzabad for the rank of capital. Sa'adat Khan certainly lived at Ayodhyá and built a fort there: as certainly he also lived at Lucknow, and changed the name of the fort from Killa Likna to Muchee Bhawun, or fish-house, in allusion to the crest of a fish, which he had assumed, and which has since become a decoration on the buildings of Lucknow. Unlike his descendants who built themselves palaces, which now fill the city, he was content with a comparatively humble dwelling situated behind the Muchee Bhawun, known as the Pach Mahalla, for which he paid a monthly rental of Rs. 565.

In 1739 Sa'adat Khan, having collected his forces, left Oudh to assist the Emperor Muhammad Shah against Nadir Sháh; from this expedition he never returned. He is stated, in history, to have fought bravely, but tradition, always ready to traduce, reports that he took care to arrive a day too late for the battle, and thinking, by making good terms for himself with the victor to oust his old rival the Nizam-ul-Mulk, offered a ransom of three crores of rupees for Delhi. The performance of this promise was frustrated owing to the subsequent plunder of that city by Nadir Shah's troops, in consequence of which he (Sa'adat Khan) took poison, in despair, and died at Delhi where he was buried.

He left a large treasure, amounting, it is said, to about nine millions sterling.

2.—MUNSUR ALI KHAN, 1739-1754.

Sa'adat Khan was succeeded by his son-in-law and nephew, Munsur Ali Khan, Sufdar Jang, who followed his predecessor's

* Burhan-ul-mulk means Governor of the country.

policy in keeping up a strong interest at Court and connecting himself closely with the Imperial Government. In 1747 he received the post which Sa'adat Khan had so much coveted, and was made Vizier, or Minister of State, to the Emperor. From this date the title of Súbadár ceases, and the Governor of Oudh is called the Nawab Vizier, a combination of two titles of Nawab of Oudh and Vizier of the Empire; the latter title was bestowed by the Emperor of Delhi. Munsur Ali Khán was the founder of Fyzabad, where he resided, besides making it his military head quarters. He built the rampart and moat that surrounded the city and had several standing camps near it: so that it can hardly be denied that, in his reign, Fyzabad, and not Lucknow, was the Capital of Oudh. He was an able ruler, and his financial administration was successful. He died in 1754, of fever, and his remains were removed to Delhi for interment.

The mausoleum of Sufdar Jang is well known as one of the finest structures of the kind at Delhi.

3.—SHUJA-UD-DAULAH, 1754—1775.

Munsur Ali Khan was succeeded by his son Shuja-ud-daulah, who, of all the Oudh Nawabs, seems to have formed the largest plans for aggrandizing himself and his province at the expense of the decaying Moghul Empire. In 1763, the English having quarrelled with their own *élève*, Meer Cossim, Governor of Bengal, Shuja-ud-daulah took the field in his favor. Defeated by the British, in successive battles at Patna, Buxar, and Calpee, he repaired to the English Camp and threw himself on the mercy of the victors. It had been intended to deprive him of his territories, but Clive, on a personal interview, reversed the decision, and reinstated him on the condition of his paying the expenses of the war.

He fixed his head quarters at Fyzabad and attracted commerce to the place, so that, with its great natural advantages, it very soon became a flourishing mart. It appears, however, that in the last years of his reign, when Rohilkhand had been subjugated and most of it annexed to Oudh, he fixed his residence at Lucknow as being more central. He was a ruler of great ability and energy, and was, for a great part of his reign, engaged in wars. Shuja-ud-daulah died suddenly on 26th January 1775, at Fyzabad, of which city his tomb, the Gulab Bari, is one of the chief ornaments. He is described as being extremely handsome and endowed with great strength.

Dow, in his history of the times, says, of this monarch,

“Till of late he gave little attention to business. He was up before the sun, mounted his horse, rushed into the forest, and hunted down tiger, or deer, till the noon of day. He then returned, plunged into the cold bath, and spent his afternoon in the harem.”

4.—ASUF-UD-DAULAH, 1775–1797.

Shuja-ud-daulah was succeeded by his son Asuf-ud-daulah, who, at once, transferred the seat of Government to Lucknow, which dates, from this period, its existence as a City and its rank as the Capital of Oudh. Up to this time it was merely a large town of some few hundred houses, extending no further than the area round the Muchee Bhawan. It is pretty clear that the site of the Chouk was occupied by a distinct village, while jungle covered the ground where the Husainabad and Kaiser Bagh now stand.

This new Nawab Vizier ceded the district of Benares and Jounpore worth 75 lacs, with a net profit of 25 lacs annually, to the British, for the better defence of his dominion, stipulating also a yearly payment of £312,000* in maintenance of the auxiliary force. He brought about reforms in his army which was put on a more efficient footing by the introduction of European Officers into the Military Department. This king is held in affectionate remembrance, up to the present day, by the natives, who are in the habit of repeating, every morning, this couplet as an auspicious incantation before commencing business:—

Jis ko na de Maula Us ko de Asuf-ud-daulah.—Whom giveth not God (Maula) Him giveth Asuf-ud-daulah.

As a token of gratitude for the recovery of the king of England (George III) from a dangerous illness, Asuf-ud-daulah presented the doctor with Rs. 25,000 and distributed a similar sum in charity in His Majesty's name.

Asuf-ud-daulah seems hardly to have had any distinct plan for building, but to have allowed the city to grow up round the Chouk chiefly to the western side of what is now the Canning Street. He encouraged merchants and traders to settle by the widest and most extravagant liberality. He spent money lavishly on public buildings, and gardens, some of which are the chief ornaments of Lucknow, such as the

* This subsidy was subsequently commuted for a territorial grant; and the southern Doab, together with the districts of Allahabad, Azimgarh, Western Gorakhpore, &c., were ceded to the Honorable East India Company, by Sa'adat Ali, in 1801.

Dowlat Khana, Rounie Darwaza, Bibiapur Kothie, Chinchut house, the Great Imambara, Aish Bagh and Char Bagh. His own palace was in the buildings known as the Dowlat Khana, the chief house, or Asufee Kothie, being named after himself. He became, in time, utterly debauched and demoralized, and totally neglectful of State affairs, which, being left to themselves, grew worse. He died childless, on 21st September 1797, and was buried in his own magnificent Imambara at Muchee Bhawun.

5.—VAZIER ALI, 1797—1798.

Vazier Ali, a reputed son of Asuf-ud-daulah, succeeded him and reigned for 4 months, but his proved illegitimacy and worthless character led the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, to displace him and elevate Sa'adat Ali Khan, the half brother of Asuf-ud-daulah and younger son of Shuja-ud-daulah. Mr. Cherry, Resident at Benares, negotiated the treaty with Sa'adat Ali who was then living at Benares on a pension of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees. The new Nawab marched to Lucknow where Sir John Shore was encamped. The Governor-General was in extreme peril from Vazier Ali's lawless soldiers, but he, with the utmost calmness, maintained his position, and the new Nawab was eventually placed on the throne, Vazier Ali being deported to Benares on the same pension of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs a year. In 1799, Vazier Ali assassinated Mr. Cherry, at Benares, and raised a temporary rebellion, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to Fort William, where he died in 1817.

The marriage expenses of this King, in 1795, amounted to 30 lacs of rupees, while his funeral expenses, in 1817, cost but 70 rupees; a strange reverse of fortune.

6.—SA'ADAT ALI KHAN, 1798—1814.

In 1798 Asuf-ud-daulah's half-brother, Sa'adat Ali Khan, succeeded Vazier Ali and earned for himself, during his reign of 16 years, the character of the best administrator and wisest and most sagacious ruler that Oudh had ever seen. Nawab Sa'adat Ali added the sum of 19,22,362 rupees to the subsidy of 56,77,668 rupees given to the British Government, every year, on account of the auxiliary force during his predecessor's reign; and afterwards, for the greater satisfaction of the British Government, made over to the Honorable East India Company, certain districts of his dominions which yielded the sum of 1,35,23,474 rupees.

He was parsimonious in his habits, and the contrast between him and his lavish predecessor got him the name of

a miser, but the fine works he executed and the steadiness with which he carried out his plan of embellishing the eastern part of the city, as his brother had done the western, prove that he was ready to spend largely where occasion required. Almost all the principal buildings between the Kaiser Bagh and the Dilkusha were built by him. He was, on the whole, a good and just ruler; had mixed in the society of British officers and had been well trained to habits of business. No sovereign of Oudh conducted the Government with so much ability as he did. He never remitted his vigilance over the administration; and, in this way, and by a judicious selection of his ministers, he secured the prosperity of his dominions, which enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity during his reign. He was the first to establish a reserve treasury in A. D. 1801, and, on his death, he left 14 crores of rupees (14 millions sterling) in it.

In the early part of his reign the King used to drink hard and to indulge in pleasures which tended to unfit him for the duties of sovereignty, but, in 1801, he made a solemn vow at the shrine of Huzrat Abbas, at Lucknow, to cease from all such indulgences and to devote his time and attention to his duties. This vow he kept during the remaining years of his life. Sa'adat Ali Khan was poisoned on the night of 11th July 1814, and was buried in the larger of the two tombs on the north-east side of the Canning College, and his wife, Khurshaid Zadi, in the smaller.

7.—GHAZI-UD-DIN HAIDAR, 1814—1827.

In 1814 Ghazi-ud-din Haidar succeeded his father, Sa'adat Ali Khan, but, beyond building his own tomb (for the decoration of which he despoiled the Imambara of Asuf-ud-daulah of all its furniture) and the tombs of his father and mother, he did little towards the embellishment of the city. On 8th October 1814, Lord Hastings arrived at Cawnpore, where he was interviewed by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, who returned to Lucknow, a few days afterwards, in company with the Governor-General. He received the title of King, in 1819, from the Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, who made him quite independent of the imperial house of Delhi, so that the name of Nawab Vizier now vanishes from history.

On the day of his coronation, jewels and pearls to the value of Rs. 30,000 were scattered over the heads of the spectators. But the increase of dignity thus conferred upon him was more than counterbalanced by the degradation which he was subjected to at the hands of his chief wife, the Padshah

Begum, an imperious and furious character, whose frequent ebullitions often disfigured the King's robes and vests, and left even the hair of his head and chin unsafe.

In these domestic broils the King's son, Nasir-ud-din Haidar, always took the part of his adopted mother, the Padshah Begum. His natural mother had died soon after his birth; and people suspected that the Padshah Begum had her put to death in order that she might have no rival in his affections, and she had an entire ascendancy over him by every species of enervating indulgences.

The former kings of Oudh, fearful of revolutions which might exclude their families from the succession, and anxious to make, for them, a more secure provision than the circumstances of their own kingdom rendered possible, were in the habit of lending large sums to the East India Company, which, in fact, were thus vested in European securities, the interest on these sums being duly remitted to the appointed heirs. Thus, for instance, Ghazi-ud-din Haidar lent to Lord Hastings, in October 1814, for the purposes of the Nepal war, the sum of 1,08,50,000 rupees. All the interest of this money, amounting to six lacs and fifty-one thousand, was distributed in the manner described amongst the members of his family.

No event of any importance took place during the reign of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, who was most polite in his manner. Bishop Heber, who visited Lucknow in the reign of this King, describes his court as the most polished and splendid of its day in India.

Arts and literature were greatly encouraged during the reign of this monarch, who died a natural death, on 20th October 1827, and, according to previous instructions, was buried in the Shah Nujuf, on the banks of the Goomtee.

8.—NASIR-UD-DIN HAIDAR, 1827—1837.

On the death of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, in 1827, his son, Nasir-ud-din Haidar, succeeded him. He had, for his consort, a grand-daughter of the Emperor of Delhi, a very beautiful young woman of exemplary character; but other wives were soon associated with her, amongst others, Doolaree, a woman of low origin and disreputable antecedents. She was introduced into the palace as wet-nurse to the new-born Prince, Moonna Jan, whose mother's name was Afzal Mahal. The King elevated her (Doolaree) to be his chief consort, under the title of Mulika Zamane, or queen of the age; and such was her influence over him, that she persuaded him to

declare her son, Kywan Jan, who was three years old when she entered the palace, to be his eldest son and heir apparent to the throne.

When Lord Combermere visited Lucknow, in 1827, he was received in true regal style by Nasir-ud-din Haidar; and some idea may be formed of the splendour of this Monarch's Court from the following sketch by an officer in attendance on the Commander-in-Chief:—

“On arrival at the palace, we sat down to break-fast with the King and his courtiers. The King was splendidly attired in a tunic of green velvet, and girded with a costly shawl. He wore a diamond turban, and his person was profusely ornamented with necklaces, earrings and armlets of the most brilliant diamonds, emeralds and pearls. After break-fast we adjourned to the State-Chamber, an ill proportioned, indifferent room. The throne is, however, beautifully decorated with embroidery in seed-pearl. Here His Majesty presented the Commander-in-Chief with his portrait set in diamonds, suspended by a string of pearls and emeralds.”

A sketch of one of his wives, the Taj Mahal, is given below:—

“Her dress was of gold and scarlet brocade, and her hair was literally strewed with pearls, which hung down upon her neck in long single strings, terminating in large pearls, which mixed with and hung as low as her hair which was curled on each side of her head in long ringlets, like Charles the Second's beauties. On her forehead she wore a small gold circlet, from which depended and hung, half way down, large pearls interspersed with emeralds. Above this was a paradise plume, from which strings of pearls were carried over the head. Her earrings were immense gold rings, with pearls and emeralds suspended all round in large strings, the pearls increasing in size. She had a nose-ring also with large round pearls and emeralds; and her necklaces, &c., were too numerous to be described. She wore long sleeves open at the elbow, and her dress was a full petticoat with a tight body attached, and open only at the throat. She had several persons to bear her train when she walked; and her women stood behind her couch to arrange her head-dress, when, in moving, her pearls got entangled in the immense robe of scarlet and gold she had thrown around her.”

Nasir-ud-din Haidar became estranged from the Padshah Begum, his adopted mother, who, with her son, Moonna Jan,

were banished from the palace and had apartments assigned them in the Residency.

This King was very friendly to Europeans, but not popular among the natives. He was totally given to pleasure; and the description of him in "The private life of an eastern king" is, probably, not over-exaggerated. He gave himself up to debauchery and dissolute habits. Of the 10 crores left by his father in the reserve treasury, he spent all but 70 lacs. While under the effects of excessive drink, the nobles, dreading his vindictive spirit, had him poisoned* on the night of the 7th July 1837. His remains were interred in the Karbala† to the south-east of the Imambara, or tomb of Mulka Afak, wife of Mahomed Ali Shah, situated north of the Goomtee and approached by the road leading over the Stone Bridge.

The reader will be able, from the foregoing, to form an idea of the wealth of Lucknow, at this time, and I may also mention that the ex-Minister, Aga Meer, left the capital, in October 1830, with 800 carts and numerous camels and elephants conveying property to the value of 25 crores, for Cawnpore, where he settled and died two years afterwards. Aga Meer was succeeded by Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, who was recalled from Furruckabad and appointed premier of the kingdom in 1831.

9.—MAHOMED ALI SHAH, 1837—1842.

As Nasir-ud-din Haidar had no legitimate son, his uncle, Naseeh-ud-daulah, son of Sa'adat Ali Khan, succeeded him after a violent attempt on the part of the Padshah Begum, mother of Nasir-ud-din Haidar, to get an illegitimate son, named Moonna Jan, put on the throne. On hearing of the demise of the king, the Padshah Begum, a bold imperious woman who had been living in seclusion at Ilmas Bagh with her grandson, Moonna Jan, forcibly entered the palace with an armed body of retainers and placed Moonna Jan on the throne; for this act both of them were deported to Chunar, where they remained as State prisoners, in the fort, on a joint monthly pension of Rs. 2,400, which was continued to them up to the time of their death. Naseeh-ud-daulah took the title of Mahomed Ali Shah, but reigned

* Two females, sisters of the King's prime favorite Duljeet, from whose hands alone the King would receive any drink, are generally supposed to have poisoned him, at the instigation of the Minister, Nasir having called for some *sherbet* a short time before his death, which was given to him by the elder.

† Karbala is the name of the city where Husain is buried, but it generally means the burial place of *Tazias*, which is a representation of the tomb of Husain.

only 5 years. On his accession commenced a period of something like administrative reforms.

He was a sovereign of great ability and experience ; and his steady habits and application to business rendered him a favorite with his subjects. His was a short and, comparatively, uneventful reign. He died, on the 16th May 1842, and was buried in the Husainabad Imambara, which building was erected by the King as a burial place for himself.

At his death he left, in the reserved treasury, thirty-five lacs of rupees, one hundred and twenty four thousand gold mohurs, besides twenty-four lacs in Government Securities—total seventy-eight lacs and eighty-four thousand rupees.

10.—AMJUD ALI SHAH, 1842—1847.

Amjud Ali Shah, son of Mahomed Ali Shah, was the next King. His was an unimportant reign of 5 years. He constructed the metalled road to Cawnpore and built the Huzrut-gunge, which, at the present time, is the principal business street in Lucknow where he also erected a Mausoleum for himself. In his reign, likewise, was founded the Aminabad Bazar, so called after his Minister, Amin-ud-daulah. It is, at the present time, one of the largest markets of the city.

On his accession, the British Government took the opportunity of pressing the reforms requisite to place the kingdom in a state of tranquillity. A limited period was assigned for effecting the change, and, in default of performance, it was intimated that the province would be placed under British management. The threat proved futile, for, like his predecessors, it was hopeless to expect reforms from one whose time was passed within the walls of his palace, caring for nothing beyond the gratification of his individual passions.

He was succeeded by his second son, the ex-King Wajid Ali Shah, as Moostapha Ali Khan, the eldest son of the late king, was physically unfit to reign (see para. 72), and his claim to the throne was, therefore, passed over in favor of Wajid Ali. Amjud Ali Shah died on the 13th February 1847, and was buried in the Mausoleum opposite the Delhi and London Bank.

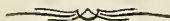
He left, in the reserved treasury, ninety-two lacs of rupees, one hundred and twenty-four thousand gold mohurs, and twenty-four lacs in Government paper—total one crore and thirty-six lacs. The ex-King, when in possession of royalty, was accustomed to spend, out of the reserved treasury, over and above the whole income of the country, twenty lacs of rupees

a year. The glass chandeliers in the Imambara were some of the costly luxuries in which he indulged, two of the principal ones costing him 50,000 dollars each.

II.—WAJID ALI SHAH, 1847-1856.

Wajid Ali, the last of the line of the kings of Oudh, succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Amjud Ali Shah. His chief architectural work was the Kaiser Bagh, and, having completed it, he gave himself up so thoroughly to voluptuousness as to neglect all state matters. Things drifted from bad to worse; and his misrule resulted in the annexation of the province, by the British, particulars of which are given in Part I of this book. He died, at Calcutta, on the 21st September 1887, in his 68th year.

It was during Wajid Ali's reign that the fracas, at Hanooman Gurhi, in Ajodhya, took place. It originated with the Mohame-dans, who, under the leadership of a fanatical Moulvie, Ameer Ali by name, attacked the local Hindus for the possession of a sacred piece of ground, but they were repulsed with great loss by the tact of Raja Maun Singh. The King's troops, sent to quell the disturbance, were also routed by him, which served as an additional proof in showing the weakness of the native government.



PART IV.

BUILDINGS OF INTEREST AT LUCKNOW.

(Noted on the map.)

To enable the reader to identify the edifices described below, it will be necessary to begin from the extreme easterly building and proceed thence, without any deviation, in a westerly direction, as I have endeavoured to do.

I.—BIBIAPUR KOTHIE.

This chateau is situated on the right bank of the Goomtee, about a mile to the east of the Dilkusha palace, from which a metalled road leads direct to the building, which is two-storied and English in style, General Claude Martin being its reputed architect. It was built by Nawab Asuf-ud-daulah (1775-1797) who resorted thither for the chase, of which he was passionately fond.

Whenever a change of Residents took place, the incoming Resident, or Ambassador, on first arrival, used to take up his abode here. The following day the Nawab Vizier came, with a large retinue, to welcome the new Ambassador, who was conducted in great pomp, seated on the same elephant beside the Nawab Vizier, to the Capital. As the pageant moved along it attracted crowds of people who thronged the roads to witness this grand and imposing spectacle of richly caparisoned elephants and horses bedecked with gold and silver trappings; and, in this manner, the Resident was installed in his new office.

When it was decided to depose Vazier Ali (see page 95), the adopted son of Asuf-ud-daulah, in favor of Sa'adat Ali Khan, it was in this chateau that the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, held a durbar (*levée*) of all the Lucknow nobles and communicated the order of his deposition to Vazier Ali, who was afterwards deported to Benares.

The building is now reserved as a convalescent dépôt for the troops in Cantonments, in proximity to which it is conveniently situated.

2.—WILAITI BAGH.

The Wilaiti Bagh was laid out by Nasir-ud-din Haidar (1827-1837) and planted with different exotics to which it owes its name. In the time of Wajid Ali Shah, this garden was in a very flourishing condition and formed a pleasant retreat for

the ladies of the seraglio, who were entirely screened from observation by the high masonry walls that enclosed it on three sides, the fourth, facing the river Goomtee, which flows past it, being left open.

The garden is contiguous to the Dilkusha Palace, but there is nothing left to convey the faintest idea of its pristine beauty. It contains the ruins of a summer house, but, besides this and the graves of a few Britons who fell in the relief, or capture, of Lucknow, nothing is to be seen.

3.—DILKUSHA PALACE.

The Dilkusha Palace (heart's ease) stands on an elevated piece of ground south of the Martiniere. The approaches to it was through an avenue of mighty trees, bordering a drive which led to a gateway in the wall, arched over, and ornamented by pilasters. It was built by Sa'adat Ali Khan (1798-1814) as a hunting box and country residence, around which he laid out an extensive park and stocked it with deer and other game. In 1830 a balloon ascent was made, from this place, by an Englishman, in the presence of King Nasir-ud-din Haidar, and a vast assemblage of persons—including many of the King's nobles who always attended on such occasions. It was also a favorite resort for the ladies of the harem who used frequently to reside there.

“A country seat where kings of Oudh of yore
Fled city heat with their barbaric Court,
Encircled by a park where Eastern dames
Screened from strange eyes indulged in listless sport.”

After the mutiny the building was, for many years, occupied by the General Commanding the Oudh division, but, subsequently, the structure, being considered unsafe, was partially demolished, and no idea can now be formed of its original grandeur from its present dilapidated condition which gives the place a very gloomy appearance. This is, in a great measure, counteracted by the grounds being tastefully laid out as a flower garden. On the south of the ruins there are a few tombs of officers and men who fell in the capture of Lucknow.

4.—LA MARTINIERE COLLEGE.

On approaching Lucknow, *viâ* Benares and Fyzabad, the traveller is impressed, as the O. & R. Railway train passes over the Goomtee Bridge, at the sight of this imposing edifice with its lofty fluted masonry column, about 123 feet high, rising perpendicularly out of a basin of water in front of the building like a

silent sentinel. The wide sweep of the wings and their curve inwards, from the triad stairs leading to the entrance, have a fine effect. The main building is surmounted with life-size figures of men and women, also lions rampant, facing the broad flight of steps* in front of the building, by which the ascent is made to the elevated platform, or ground floor. In the distance loom other buildings, of which glimpses are caught, but none of them can vie, in majestic grandeur, with the Martinière, which forcibly reminds the traveller that he is entering the renowned "City of Palaces."

The Martinière, also known as *Constantia*, was built, by General Claude Martin, in the reign of Asuf-ud-daulah (1775-1797). When in course of construction, the Nawab, seeing the elaborateness of the design, expressed a wish to purchase the building, for which he offered a million sterling. The King's death occurring shortly after put an end to the negotiation; and the General, dying† before the building was finished, directed that it should be completed out of the funds he left to endow a school there.

The College was established in 1840. It is entirely supported out of funds bequeathed by General Claude Martin, the founder, who is buried in the vaults of this building. His tomb is a sarcophagus on the floor, and originally had, at each angle, the life-size figure of a soldier, in uniform, standing with musket reversed in an attitude of grief. During the mutiny the figures were destroyed by the rebels, who also dug up the tomb and scattered the bones, which were afterwards restored to their original resting-place.

On the west, or back of the main building, is a garden where may be seen the brass cannon having the words "The Lord Cornwallis" inscribed on it. This cannon was cast in the year 1786 in the foundry of General Martin, who lent it to the Government of India; and Lord Cornwallis used it against Seringapatam, in the third Mysore war (A. D. 1790-92), against Tippu Sultan.

* During the recent abnormal rise of the river Goomtee, which was as unexpected as it was unprecedented, the water was level with the 4th step leading up to the main building and 2 feet 2 inches deep in the class rooms and Sergeant Superintendent's Quarters on the left wing, on 6th October 1891, when the flood was at its greatest height. This flood was much higher than that of 1870 and is said to have even exceeded the one which occurred, during 1837-38, in the reign of King Mahomed Ali Shah.

† General Martin died at the Furhat Buksh Palace, which was built by him, and which was originally his residence, but, according to previous instructions, his body was removed and interred in the Martinière as a precaution against probable confiscation of the building by native rulers.

To the south, on the road-side, are the tombs of Captain DaCosta, of the Ferozepore Sikhs, and Major Hodson,* of Hodson's Horse (Captor of the King and Princes of Delhi) who was mortally wounded, on the 11th March 1858, at the storming of the Begum Kothie (now the Post Office) and was carried thence to Hyat Buksh Kothie, the present Government House, where this gallant officer expired the day after he was wounded.

A short biography of General Martin will be found after the preface.

5.—NASIR-UD-DIN HAIDAR'S CANAL.

The project for this canal originated with Raja Bukhtawar Singh. He persuaded King Nasir-ud-din Haidar, in whose reign it was begun, that it would be beneficial to the country by bringing the water of the Ganges, which would be diverted into this channel, within reach of the agriculturist. The King was thereby induced to launch out into a costly speculation which proved abortive in the end, seeing that the bed of the canal is always dry except in the monsoons when it serves merely as a sewer to carry off the rain water. The only persons that really benefited by the undertaking were a lot of rapacious contractors, employed in the excavation of this canal, which commences at Alamnagar and extends, for a distance of about 7 miles in an easterly direction, until it joins the Goomtee at a point east of the Wingfield Park.

It was used by the rebels, during the siege of Lucknow, as their first line of defences.

6.—HYATH BUKSH KOTHIE.

The Hyath Buksh (life-giving) was built in the time of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan (1798—1814). It was originally used by General Martin as his Powder Magazine. The building is also known as Banks' House, as it was, after the annexation of the province, occupied by Major Banks, Commissioner of Lucknow, who was killed in the Residency, and after whom the building and the road at back of Government House are named.

The house is two-storied, and is now the residence of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of the N.-W. Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

* William Stephen Raikes Hodson, Captain and Brevet Major, 1st E. B. Fusiliers, and Commandant Hodson's Horse, third son of the Venerable George Hodson, Archdeacon of Stafford and Canon of Lichfield, was born at Maisemore Court, near Gloucester, on 19th March 1821.

BUILDINGS ERECTED BY NAWAB SA'ADAT ALI KHAN, (1798—1814).

7. **Dar-ul-shafa Kothie** (house of curing, or Hospital), so named owing to the King, Sa'adat Ali, having recovered here from a fit of illness, is situate at the back of the Begum Kothie and forms the residence of the Secretary to His Honor, the Lieutenant Governor, during his stay at Lucknow.

8. **Begum Kothie**, the residence of Mulka Ahud, wife of King Amjud Ali Shah, occupied by the Post Office, is too well-known to need description. It was stormed on the 11th March 1858, and is the place where the gallant Hodson received his death wound.

9. **Kunkerwallie Kothie**, occupied by the City Magistrate, attached to which is the Wasika Office.

10. **Noorbux Kothie**, (light giving), occupied by the Deputy Commissioner. It was from the top of this house that Sir Henry Havelock, in his advance to the relief, overlooked the enemy's third line of defences and planned his way into the Kaiser Bagh. For sometime after the mutiny the walls, on the west side, bore the impress of a shower of grape that was fired at him.

Of the buildings erected by Sa'adat Ali Khan as residences for his sons, these (Kunkerwallie and Noorbux Kothies) are the only two now existing, the others having been demolished after the mutiny.

II.—MAKBARAH* OF AMJUD ALI SHAH.

This building, situated opposite the Delhi and London Bank, is the Mausoleum of the fourth king of Oudh, and is commonly known by the name of the Chota Imambara. The building was originally furnished with costly fittings, all of which were plundered during the mutiny. On the whole the building has no architectural pretensions, and, after the storming of the Begum Kothie, this was the next place taken by Sir Colin, on the 14th March 1858, after a severe struggle.

12.—THE MEMORIAL IN FRONT OF THE EAST GATE OF THE KAISER BAGH.

The space in front of the Tarawallie Kothie, between it and the Kaiser Bagh, is fraught with melancholy and solemn recollections. On this spot two separate parties of Europeans, one consisting of those sent in by the Dhowrera Raja (Miss

* Makbarah is a Mausoleum.

Jackson, Mrs. Green, Mrs. Rogers, Mr. Carew, and Mr. J. Sullivan) on the 24th September 1857, (*vide* para. 78), with the addition of some persons captured in the town, deserters from the Bailey Guard; and the other consisting of the victims of the Mithowlie Raja's gratitude and hospitality (Sir Mountstuart Jackson, Captain Orr, Lieutenant Burns, and Sergeant Morton), on the 16th November 1857, completed the tale of sickness, imprisonment, indignity and despair, by suffering a cruel martyrdom. The Memorial has been erected to commemorate these massacres on the spot where they occurred. Both of them were chiefly owing to the fury of the defeated sepoys when they could no longer resist the advance of General Havelock and the Commander-in-Chief, but both were also instigated and encouraged by the leaders of the rebellion. One of these leaders, Raja Jailal Singh, a man of large territorial possessions and of great influence with the mutineers, followed the first party of prisoners to the fatal scene, and mounted one of the gates (since demolished) of the Kaiser Bagh, in order better to feast his eyes on their dying agonies, and to applaud the prowess of his sepoys. Two years had elapsed since that time; he had been received into favor; his rebellion had been condoned under the amnesty, and he persuaded himself that the memory of that deed had faded away, that even he might hope to die a natural death. But justice, though slowly, was following surely in the criminal's track, and overtook him, when he least expected it, from the quarter where he thought himself safest. His own confidential servants turned against him; link after link a wonderful chain of circumstantial evidence developed itself and heaped the guilt with deadly certainty on his head. On the first day of October 1859, on the very spot where his crime was committed, he paid the extreme penalty of the law, and I witnessed the execution. This was followed, on the 12th idem, by the execution of Bundeh Hussein and Fattah Ali, who had hunted down and brought into Lucknow some of the poor captives massacred here.

13.—TOMB OF KING SA'ADAT ALI KHAN.

On the north-east of the Canning College,* which is situated within the enclosure of the Kaiser Bagh, stand the two tombs of Sa'adat Ali Khan (called after his death *Jannat Aramgah*, or one whose soul is in paradise) and of his wife Khurshaid Zadi (daughter of the sun). Both these tombs were built, after their death, by their son Ghazi-ud-din Haidar,

* The Canning College was established in 1864, and is principally intended for the education of the sons of the native nobility by whom the institution is mainly supported. It is governed by a Committee under the presidentship of the Commissioner of Lucknow. The present building was completed in 1878.

who thereby displayed a very uncommon amount of filial affection. On the spot on which Sa'adat Ali's tomb now stands, formerly stood the house in which Ghazi-ud-din Haidar lived during his father's reign; and it is reported that, when he came to the throne and occupied Sa'adat Ali's place, fully appreciating the change in their respective situations, he remarked that, as he had now taken his father's house, it was nothing but right that he should give up his own to his father. Accordingly he gave orders to destroy his former abode, and raise, on the site, a tomb to Sa'adat Ali Khan.

When Havelock's relieving army was fighting its way towards the Residency, it was greatly harassed, at this point, by the destructive fire from the enemy who held the position in great force.

14.—THE KAISER* BAGH.

Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh, bears the whole opprobrium for the erection of the Kaiser Bagh, the largest, gaudiest, and most debased of all the Lucknow palaces. It was commenced in 1848, and finished in 1850, at a cost, including furniture and decorations, of Rs. 80 lacs (£ 800,000). Entering by the north-east gateway, which faces the open space in front of the observatory, or Tarawallie Kothie, the visitor passed through a court to a gate known as the Jilaukhana, (since demolished) whence the royal procession used to start, and through which the captives, mentioned in para. 78, were conducted to their prison. Turning to the right, through a screened gateway, he arrived at the Chini Bagh, so called from the China vessels which formerly decorated the gardens. A portal flanked by green mermaids, in the worst European taste of the last century, led next to the Hazrat Bagh. On the right hand lie the Chandiwalli Baradari (once paved with silver) and the Khas Mukam, as well as the Badshah Munzil, the special residence of the King, erected by Sa'adat Ali Khan, but included by Wajid Ali in the plan of his new palace. His Vizier (Minister), Nawab Ali Naki Khan, used to reside above the mermaid gateway in order that he might be close at hand to attend any summons from the King. On the left stand a large confused pile of buildings, called the Chaulakhi, built by Azim-ul-lah Khan, the King's barber, and sold by him to the King for four lacs, from which it derives its name. It formed the residence of the Queen and the chief concubines. In this building the rebel Begum held her court while the British prisoners lay, for weeks, in one of the adjacent stables. The

* Kaiser is equivalent to Cæsar, a title adopted by the kings of Oudh and used by them on the Royal seal.

road-way proceeds past a large mulberry tree (since felled), which was paved round the roots with marble. Under its shade the King, Wajid Ali, used to sit, dressed in the yellow robes of a Fakir,* on the occasion of a great fair, called the Jogia Mela, held in August, within the Kaiser Bagh square, to which all wearing the garb of a Fakir were admitted. The eastern Lakhi gate, so called from its having cost a lac of rupees, gives access to a magnificent open square, known pre-eminently as the Kaiser Bagh.

Proceeding past the Stone Baradari (which is situated in the centre of the quadrangle and is now the property of the Maharani of Bulrampur) and under the western Lakhi gate, which corresponds to the eastern one above-mentioned, we have, on our left, the building known as the Kaiser Pasund (now the Deputy Commissioner's Court), or Cæsar's choice. This place was erected by Roshan-ud-daulah, Prime Minister of Nasir-ud-din Haidar; but Wajid Ali Shah confiscated it, and gave it as a residence to his favorite concubine Mashuk-ul-Sultan. In the under stories of this building were confined the Dhowrera party of European captives, who were killed on the spot marked by the memorial in front of the Kaiser Bagh gate. Finally, on the right, was a second Jilaukhana corresponding to the eastern one, by which the visitor entered; and turning down it, in a northerly direction, he found himself outside the palace and opposite the Sher Durwaza, or Neill's gateway, adjacent to which has lately been erected a masonry pillar, bearing a stone slab, which marks the spot where fell General Neill (*vide* page 66) whose remains were interred in the Residency Cemetery.

The buildings forming the quadrangle of the Kaiser Bagh have been made over to the Talukdars (landed proprietors), or Barons of Oudh, who occupy them on the occasion of their periodical visits to Lucknow. It is here that fêtes take place in honor of the arrival of any new Lieutenant-Governor, Viceroy, or other exalted personage, whose visit to the capital is blazoned throughout the land by a grand illumination and a great pyrotechnic display which the public are permitted to witness. Admission, however, to the Baradari, where refreshments are provided, is given by tickets issued to the élite for whom the place is reserved.

THE CHUTTER MUNZIL PALACES.

Are situated on the banks of the Goomtee and are generally known as the block of buildings comprising the United Service

* An oriental ascetic, or begging monk.

Club and Library, the Small Cause Court and the adjacent two buildings to the south, besides the Lall Baradurie (or throne room) including the General's and Tehree Kothies.* This architectural group, of which the side buildings are destroyed, extended from opposite the Government Telegraph Office up to the Bailey Guard. It included several other buildings, besides those mentioned above, which have since been razed.

Chutter Munzil is a term properly applied to those buildings surmounted with a "Chutter," or gilt Umbrella: of these there are two; the greater is well known as the United Service Club which recently removed its library, containing several thousand volumes of books, into the adjoining building, on the north-west side, lately vacated by the Union Club, and known as the Furhat Buksh (built by General Martin) while the lesser is occupied by the Small Cause Court, Registration Office, and office of Department of Land Record and Agriculture, N. W. Provinces and Oudh.

This block of buildings is separately described below:—

15.—GREATER CHUTTER MUNZIL.†

At present occupied by the United Service Club is a three-storied building having tykhanas, or underground rooms. It was built by Nasir-ud-din Haidar as a residence for the ladies of the harem, he himself occupying the adjoining palace called the Furhat Buksh. Between the two Chutter Munzils was a very pretty garden with a beautiful marble tank, in the centre of which was an island covered with a pavilion. To convey to the reader an idea of the beauty of this place, the following description of it by the Honorable Miss Eden may not be uninteresting:—

"Such a place ! the only residence I have coveted in India. Don't you remember reading, in the Arabian Nights, Zobeide bets her Garden of Delight amidst the caliph's Palace of Pictures ! I am sure this was the garden of delight.

"There are four small places in it fitted up in the eastern way, with velvet, gold and marble ; with arabesque ceilings, orange trees and roses in all directions and with numerous wild paroquets of bright colors flitting about. And, in one place, there was an immense '*humman*,' or Turkish bath of white marble, the arches intersecting each other in all directions, and the marble

* The Tehree Kothie is now the residence of the Judicial Commissioner, of Lucknow, who holds his Court in the General's Kothie.

† On 6th October 1891, when the flood, mentioned at foot note of the description of the Martiniere given on page 104, was at its greatest height, the Goomtee rose level with the plinth of the Chutter Munzil and threatened to surmount the stone platform when it would have been into the club rooms and the rooms of the adjoining building containing the Library, at the north corner of which last (the ground here being low) a bund, or barrier, was hurriedly constructed across 3 doors to keep out the water.

inlaid with Cornelian and blood-stone; and, in every corner of the place, there were little fountains; even during the hot winds, they say, it is cool from the quantity of water in the fountains playing; and, in the verandah, there were fifty trays of fruits and flowers laid out for us * * * It was really a very pretty sight."

16.—LESSER CHUTTER MUNZIL.

Is a two-storied building surmounted by a dome with a gilt Umbrella, and is, at present, occupied by the Small Cause Court, Registration Office and Office of the Department of Land Record and Agriculture, N.-W. P. and Oudh. The two buildings immediately behind it facing the road leading to the Residency, are the Gulshaniram* (Heavenly Garden) and Darshanbilas† (pleasing vision); the former is a part of the Museum and Office of the Curator, and the other the Office of the Inspector of Schools and P. W. Department.

17.—FURHAT BUKSH PALACE.

Until Wajid Ali built the Kaiser Bagh, the Furhat Buksh (*i. e.*, giver of delight) together with the adjoining buildings formed the principal residence of the Oudh Sovereigns from the time of Sa'adat Ali Khan who made great additions and improvements to the place. It originally formed the residence of General Claude Martin, by whom the palace was built and subsequently sold to Nawab Asuf-ud-daulah.

18.—THE LALL BARADURIE.

This building, the great throne room, or Coronation Hall, now occupied by the Museum, was built by Sa'adat Ali Khan and set apart for Royal durbars. On the accession of a new king it was the custom for the Resident to place him on the throne and present him with a *Nazr* (offering) in token that the British authority confirmed his assumption of the Government. After the death of Nasir-ud-din Haidar, the attempt on the throne by the Padshah Begum and Moonna Jan, took place here, which is recorded by Sir W. Sleeman in the second volume of his journey through Oudh; and it was in pursuance of this custom that the insurgents attempted to force the Resident, Colonel Low, to present an offering to Moonna Jan, as he sat on the throne, thinking thus to confirm the usurper's authority (*vide* page 99.) The Resident was nearly killed in this place for setting aside the claim of Moonna Jan to the throne

* King Nasir-ud-din Haidar is said to have been poisoned in the underground rooms of this palace, *vide* page 99.

† This building is also known as the "*Chowrukhee Kothie*," a designation it derives from each of its four sides representing the facade of 4 different edifices, as, for example, that towards the west, is in imitation of the facade of the Dilkusha Palace, etc.

in favor of Mahomed Ali Shah, the uncle of Nasir-ud-din Haidar.

The Lall Baradurie is so named from its being painted inside and out with red ochre.

19.—THE RESIDENCY.

The Residency is far too famous a place and too generally known to require a very detailed description. It was originally a very extensive and beautiful brick building, with lofty rooms, fine verandahs, and splendid porticoes. Besides having a ground floor and two upper stories, it had a *tykhana*, or cellar of splendid apartments, as lofty and well arranged as any in the house.

It was built, in 1800, by Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan, for the British Resident at his court; and such was the commodiousness of the house, that, during the time of trouble, it afforded accommodation to very numerous families.

The building stands on an elevated spot not far from the Chutter Munzil. It was connected by a covered passage to a building on the south side having a *tykhana*, or underground rooms, which were resorted to by the Resident during the summer. These rooms, owing to their immunity from shot and shell, were occupied, during the investment of the place in 1857, by the women and children of H. M.'s 32nd Foot. A room in the Residency, lately renewed, contains a model shewing the defences, &c., being facsimile of one in the Museum prepared from the design by the Revd. T. Moore, formerly Civil Chaplain of Lucknow. For detailed description of the intrenched position see Part V.

20.—IRON BRIDGE.

The materials for this bridge were brought out from England, in 1816, by order of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, who, however, died before they arrived. His son, Nasir-ud-din Haidar, directed the bridge to be constructed in front of the Residency just where a small temple and *ghât* stood on the opposite side of the river. He gave the contract for erecting it to his own Engineer, a Mr. Sinclair, who commenced sinking wells on which to found piers, but failed before any great progress had been made, and the King also died soon after. Its completion was thus again delayed till Mahomed Ali Shah (1837—1842), the next King, took up the project, and placed the bridge in the position in which it now stands.

On Colonel Fraser, who was Engineer Officer to the king of

Oudh in 1842-43, devolved the task of erecting this cast iron bridge, which had been ordered out some 25 or 30 years previously and the component parts landed at the mouth of the river in a damaged and wrecked condition. Divers had to be employed, by him, to recover the submerged portions, and those which were missing had to be replaced.

Eventually, after several months of intense labor, the bridge was put up; and since it was apprehended that the arches would collapse when the time came for lowering the centres by driving out the wedges, Colonel Fraser, to shew the confidence he had in the stability of his work, himself undertook to drive out the last wedge of each arch, which he did whilst standing beneath it along with the workmen, thus shewing his determination to be crushed along with them in case his work proved a failure. No such catastrophe, however, happened, and the bridge remains intact to this day, as rigid as ever, in the position in which it was originally placed by him.

21.—THE STONE BRIDGE.

The Stone Bridge as it is commonly called, situate near the Muchee Bhawun, is not built of stone, but of pucca masonry. The construction of this bridge was commenced by Munsur Ali Khan and completed by his grandson, Asuf-ud-daulah, about the year 1780. The bridge, being considered unsafe, is closed against wheel traffic.

22.—MUCHEE BHAWUN.

The Muchee Bhawun * Fort (since demolished) comprised a much larger area than that which was contained within the limits of the old fort of that name which was surrounded by high walls, the side facing the river having the appearance of a castle. Towards the river front the fortifications commanded the stone and iron bridges; the south and west had been one of the most populous parts of the town, which was partially levelled at the time of the mutiny; towards the east, this fort commanded the Residency and overlooked some very frequented thoroughfares.

The palace within the Muchee Bhawun faced the Goomtee. It contained six principal courts, or quadrangles, surrounded by pavilion-like-buildings. In the first of these are two lofty gate-

* “ The buildings in the Muchee Bhawun (*Muchee*, ‘Fish’—from the device over the gateway—and *Bhawun*, Sanscrit for ‘House’) belonged to Nawab Yah Ali Khan, from whom they were purchased by Sir Henry Lawrence for Rs. 50,000. These buildings originally formed the stronghold of the ancient Sheikhs, but the latter became so troublesome in the time of Asuf-ud-daulah as to incur the displeasure of this Nawab, who confiscated the property, when he removed his capital from Fyzabad to Lucknow, ” (see page 91).

ways. On the outer, there is a handsome chamber, called the Noubut Khana, or Music-room, forming an orchestra upon a splendid scale. The second court, encompassed by state apartments, was laid out as a garden, having a well, or *bouli* (still to be seen) in the centre, round which are two pavilions, opening to the water, and intended to afford a cool retreat during the hot weather; the air was refreshed by the constant dripping of the fountains; and the piazzas and arcaded chambers beyond, within the influence of its luxurious atmosphere, were well adapted as sleeping apartments in the sultry nights of summer.

Shortly before the investment of the Residency, the fortifications were strengthened by cannons being planted, at different points, on the ramparts, but though to all appearance the place seemed impregnable, it was really not so, as it was afterwards condemned by the engineers and had to be abandoned (see para. 35).

The high ground, on the river side, crowned by the Musjid, or Mosque, built by Aurangzeb of Delhi, is Luckshmun Tela, the site of the original Lukshmunpoor. Behind the Muchee Bhawun itself, in a southerly direction, is an open space, once a *depôt* for ordnance stores, that marks the site of the Mobarak Mahalla and Pach Mahalla (now demolished), the oldest houses in Lucknow, built by the family of Sheikhs who formerly owned territory here.

When Sa'adat Khan, the first member of the late reigning family, came here as Subadar, or Governor of Oudh, in 1732 A. D., he hired these houses from the owners at a monthly rental of Rs. 565; the money was paid at first, but his successors got into the habit of looking on the houses as State property, and after Munsur Ali Khan and Sujah-ud-daulah had respectively written agreements to pay rent, but had never done so, Asuf-ud-daulah confiscated the houses.

On the 2nd of July 1857, this fort was blown up by the garrison who retreated to the Residency (*vide* para. 52). After the re-occupation of Lucknow, the Muchee Bhawun was rebuilt and strongly fortified, but on completion of redoubt No. 1, in Dilkusha Cantonments, the fortification was completely demolished and the great Imambara of Asuf-ud-daulah and its adjoining Mosque, made over to the Mohamedan community, who were greatly gratified at this concession on the part of the British Government.

23.—THE GREAT IMAMBARA. *

Within the precincts of the Muchee Bhawun is the Great

* Imambara is a building in which the festival of the *Mohurrum* is celebrated and service held in commemoration of the death of Ali and his sons Hassan and Hussain. Sometimes it is used as a *Makbarah*, or Mausoleum.

Imambara, or Cathedral, the architectural gem of Lucknow, which was the crowning work of Nawab Asuf-ud-daulah's reign. He is said to have spent incredible sums on it, and the native report, always prone to exaggerate, puts the cost at a million sterling (one crore of rupees). Architects were invited to submit their plans to competition, Asuf-ud-daulah only stipulating that the building should be no copy of any other work, and that it should surpass, in beauty and magnificence, anything of the kind ever built by his predecessors. Kyfeeútoollah was the name of the successful competitor; and it would be hard to say that his conception, as it stands before us at the present date, falls at all short of the large and liberal stipulation of the Monarch.

This superb edifice was started as a relief work during the terrible famine which raged from 1784 to 1786. The principal apartment is 163 feet long by 53 wide, and thickness of walls 16 feet. It is said to be the largest unsupported hall in the world, not a single piece of wood, or iron, having been used in the structure, which is entirely built of pucca brick-work and stone.

It consists of two courts rising with a steep ascent one above the other, and containing, besides, a splendid mosque, a college for instruction in Mussalman law, and a noble gallery, in the midst of which, "under a brilliant tabernacle of silver, cut glass, and precious stones, lie buried the remains of its founder, Asuf-ud-daulah." Such is the description given of it by Bishop Heber on the occasion of his visit to Lucknow in 1824.

The tabernacle of chandeliers referred to by this worthy prelate is described by another writer as follows:—

"Through the open marble arches nothing else was, at first, visible. The whole building was hung with them: immense pyramids of silver, gold, prismatic crystals, and colored glass; and where they were too heavy to be hung, they rose in radiant piles from the floor. In the midst of them were temples of silver filagree, eight or ten feet high, and studded with cornelians, agates, and emeralds There were ancient banners of the Nawab's of Oudh, heavy with sentences from the Koran, embroidered on gold; gigantic bands of silver covered with talismanic words; sacred shields studded with the name of God; swords of Khorasan steel, lances, and halberds; the turbans of renowned commanders; the trappings of the white horse of Nuseer-ud-deen, mounted on a wooden effigy, and several pulpits of peculiar sanctity."

During the Mohurrum* festival the Imambara is illuminated, a day being set apart for European visitors as at the Shah Nujuf and Husainabad.

24—ROUMIE DARWAZA.

The Rounie Darwaza, or Turkish gate, is supposed to be a facsimile of one of the gates of Constantinople, but persons who have visited Constantinople declare that there is no gate standing there now which at all corresponds with this one, and the only inference to be drawn is that the Nawab Vizier, Asuf-ud-daulah, was probably the victim of a deception. This gate is a structure of massive proportions faced, on both sides, with some imitation of leaves which rise from the base and radiate above the spring line forming a pointed arch. The arch-way is surmounted by a turret which completes the design.

Both the Rounie Darwaza and the Great Imambara were begun in a year of tremendous famine, and were partly undertaken in order to provide the starving population with bread.

25.—THE CLOCK TOWER†.

This tower, which is of recent date (1881), is fully detailed below:—

“ At the suggestion, and through the influence of the City Magistrate, Lieut.-Colonel Norman T. Horsford, Bengal Staff Corps, the trustees of the Husainabad Endowment, who administer the fortune of 36 lacs of rupees (£360,000) bequeathed by Mahomed Ali Shah, the third King of Oudh, have erected a stately tower, 221 feet high and 20 feet square, from the design of Mr. R. R. Bayne, of Calcutta, for the reception of a clock of great size and power, made by Mr. J. W. Benson, Ludgate Hill, London.

“ The following is a brief description of the clock movement: The bed, or frame, is horizontal, which allows any part to be

* Mohurrum signifies most sacred, and is applied to a fast and solemn-mourning which is observed chiefly by the *Shiahs*, one of the two great sects of Mohamedans, the other being the *Sunnies*, so called from their belief in the *Sunna*, or tradition of Mahomed, as a supplement to the *Koran* (Mohamedan Bible) and almost of equal authority, which the latter accept whilst the *Shiahs* reject it. This fast is kept for 10 days and is called *Ashra*, from the Arabic signifying ten, to commemorate the death of Hussain, younger son of Ali and grandson of the prophet Mahomed. Hussain was murdered at Karbala in Turkish Arabia.

† On 6th October 1891 when the flood mentioned in the foot note of the description given of the Martiniere on page 104 was at its greatest height, the water rose above the stone platform which forms the base of the Tower. It was ankle deep on this platform, and, below it, persons were wading about up to their waist in the water which completely covered the Husainabad Tank.

removed for cleaning or repair, without disturbing the rest, whereas in the upright frame, to gain access to a particular part, the whole machine has to be more, or less, taken to pieces. It consists of two wrought-iron sides, having a massive pillar of the same material bolted between them at each end. The length is 6 feet and the width 3 feet. All the train wheels are of gun-metal well hammered, the teeth being divided, cut, and polished by power, thereby insuring an accuracy impossible in hand-made work. The main wheel is 24 inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and the other wheels are of proportionate size. In one of the designs for the great clock at Westminster, the main wheel was 18 inches in diameter, which, although considered too small, will show, by comparison, the size of the present clock. The pinions are of hardened steel, cut from the solid, made and finished in the same manner as the wheels.

“There are three trains of wheels, one in the centre to record the time on the dials, called ‘the going part,’ to the right of which is the quarter chiming train, and to the left the hour striking train. The barrels work in plummer-blocks, and the uprights, which carry the trains, are bolted on in such a manner as to be easily removable. All the bearings, which are of the best gun-metal, are screwed instead of being riveted into their respective places as is usually done. The barrels for carrying the weights, and the spindles on which they are mounted, are of wrought iron, the drums being 12 inches in diameter, fitted between caps and ratchets by means of which the weights are wound without interrupting the motion of the great wheel. The weights are suspended by steel cords, which being much less bulky than rope, permit the barrels and frame to be greatly reduced in size, and render the general arrangement more compact.

“During the act of winding, which takes the motive power off the great wheel, it is obvious that the clock would stop unless some means were provided to continue the action.

“This substitute, technically known as ‘the maintaining power,’ has been specially designed by the firm, and its working is as follows: To gain access to the winding square, the attendant must first raise a lever, one end of which gears into the teeth of the great wheel, and the other being weighted, supplies the motion. The winding completed, the lever gradually drops with the revolution of the wheel into its old position. The escapement is Graham’s dead-beat, the advantages of which are that, being so simple and made on such true principles, it is not easily deranged, and in the unlikely event of its becoming so, a man of ordinary capacity can rectify

it, which is not the case with complicated gravity escapements. This is an important consideration for clocks in remote places, especially in the present instance, Lucknow being 678 miles 'up country.'

"The pendulum is 14 feet long, and has a bob of 3 cwt. It is compensated with zinc and iron tubes to counteract the variations of temperature.

"The rate of the new clock, which has been thoroughly tested in the factory, is reported to be a losing one of two seconds per week, so that it will give the standard time for the city and district.

"Time is shown on four dials, each 13 feet in diameter, at an elevation of 120 feet. Each dial consists of twelve openings in the brickwork 2 feet in diameter, glazed with white opal glass on which the numerals are marked in black enamel. The centre circle is also of the same material, and measures 5 feet 9 inches in diameter. The hands are of copper, and counterpoised on inside of tower. The minute hand is 6 feet, and the hour hand 4 feet 6 inches long.

"As it is impossible, owing to the large surface of brickwork which divides the circles, to illuminate the dials from behind, a special method has been devised for the purpose. On the bell-chamber floor above the clock-room are eight copper lanterns, two for each dial, having plate-glass fronts and silver-plated holophotal reflectors. From these reflectors a powerful stream of light is thrown upon an exterior reflector placed at such an angle as will project the light on the centre of the dial. The outside reflectors are movable, all four being extended, or withdrawn, at the same time, by an arrangement of wheels and cogs worked by the attendant.

"This system of lighting, which has been thoroughly tested before adoption, is the best under the somewhat difficult conditions in which the clock has to be illuminated, and its advantages are that the lanterns being within the building, they can be of larger size than if suspended on the outside, whilst the light being better protected from wind and rain, will be steadier and more effective.

"The striking part is made with all recent improvements, the hammer being raised by the great wheel, by which means a heavier blow and more sound are obtained than from the corresponding mechanism of the old construction. The system used is the rack repeating work, which is the easiest in its action, safest in its lockings and the most modern; whereas the old

style of locking plate, or count wheel, was unreliable, being apt to run past its lockings and strike the wrong hours. The clock will chime the Cambridge quarters, the beauty of which is universally acknowledged, being attributed to no less a musician than Handel.

"Immediately above the dials is the bell-chamber, where, upon a teak frame, the bells are so mounted as to produce the greatest volume of sound. These five bells have been specially cast for this clock, are of the finest bell-metal, and their tones are extremely clear and musical. The hammers are mounted in frames and fitted with steel counter-springs to prevent 'chattering.'

"The following are the weights and notes of the bells:—

						weight.	Note.
						<i>Cwt.</i> <i>qr.</i> <i>lb.</i>	
Hour bell	...	...	20	2	0		Eb
Fourth quarter	...	...	8	3	11		Bb
Third "	...	...	8	0	12		E
Second "	...	...	6	0	12		F
First "	...	...	5	3	0		G

This is by far the largest clock in India."

(Reprinted from "*Engineering*," 28th August, 1885).

26.—THE HUSAINABAD TANK.

Along with the Husainabad Imambara, Mahomed Ali Shah built this magnificent pucca tank which is contiguous to the Clock Tower. The tank is well stocked with fish and is said to be connected with the river by an under-ground passage.

27.—THE SAT KHUNDA.

West of the Husainabad Tank might be seen an unfinished structure called the Sat Khunda, or seven-storied tower, having been originally designed as such. It was commenced simultaneously with the Husainabad Imambara, by Mahomed Ali Shah, as an observatory, from whence he might survey the extent and magnificence of his palatial domain, but the tower only reached its fourth story when the King died and the work was stopped.

28.—DOWLUT KHANA.

Proceeding westward from the Roumie Darwaza, we have, on our right, the Dowlut Khana, or old palace of Nawab Asuf-

ud-daulah, which is north of the Clock Tower, and to which you gain access through the gateway on the right of the Baradurie facing the tank. Under this name (Dowlut Khana*) is included a number of large houses, irregularly placed, which formed the residence of Asuf-ud-daulah and his Court when he transferred the seat of Government from Fyzabad to Lucknow. The principal house, the Asfee Kothie, was named after him. Sa'adat Ali Khan, his successor, however, relinquished this place for the Furhat Buksh. The Dowlut Khana is now occupied by a wealthy Nawab, who is believed to be in some way connected with the Royal family of Oudh.

The Baradurie facing the tank was erected by Mahomed Ali Shah, and has recently been repaired and improved at a great cost. This building is now used as a place of conference for the native nobility and also as a picture gallery, or repository for the portraits of all the kings of Oudh, which were formerly kept in one of the side rooms of the Husainabad Imambara.

29.—THE HUSAINABAD IMAMBARA.

The Husainabad Imambara is the only architectural work completed by Mahomed Ali Shah, the third King of Oudh; and though inferior in grandeur to some of the works of his successors, it is the rival of many of them in beauty of detail. It contains the tomb of this monarch and his mother. The garden, which occupies the quadrangle, is somewhat disfigured by being crowded with a bad model of the Taj of Agra on the west, (in which is buried the King's daughter) and, on the east, there is a building of similar dimensions. The Husainabad presents a very grand appearance when illuminated, and, in the time of the native rulers, it formed the chief attraction during the Mohurrum.

It was munificently endowed by Mahomed Ali Shah who left a very large sum to keep up the splendour of the Imambara, which is grandly illuminated on the anniversary of the King's death and for several nights during the Mohurrum festival. One night is specially set apart for European visitors, the same as at the Shah Nujuf and the Great Imambara.

30.—JUMMA MUSJID.

Jumma Musjid is so called from its being chiefly used on Jumma (Friday) as the place of worship by the Mohamedans. This mosque lies due west of the Husainabad Imambara and can easily be identified from the two minarets and three cupolas

* Dowlut Khana literally means the residence of a superior, or great man.

constructed thereon. It was commenced by Mahomed Ali Shah and intended to excel, in grandeur, the mosque of Asuf-ud-daulah in the Muchee Bhawun, but the King did not live to complete it. Subsequently the work was resumed and completed by Begum Mulka Jehan, a surviving member of the Royal family, who is now dead.

The edifice stands on an elevated basement with an open platform in front, fitted with lavatories for the use of the worshippers. The walls are beautifully ornamented, and the arches colored in stucco.

31.—MOOSA BAGH.

Far beyond the Husainabad, in a northerly direction, is the Moosa Bagh, which was laid out as a garden by Asuf-ud-daulah, but the house was built by Sa'adat Ali Khan, who made it his favorite country residence. In his reign wild beast fights used to take place there on the opposite bank of the Goomtee. The building is in the English style, and is said to have been designed and constructed by General Martin. This was the last position held, in force, by the rebels in the city, and was captured by General Outram on the 19th March 1858. The place is now in ruins.

32.—BADSHA BAGH.

The road over Bruce's Bridge, east of the Chutter Munzil, leads into the Badsha Bagh, which was a Royal Garden laid out by Nasir-ud-din Haidar. In the centre of this walled enclosure is a substantial stone edifice, having an open arcaded hall, well adapted for festive gatherings (such as picnics, &c.) allowed to be held here by the kind permission of His Highness, the Maharaja of Kapurthala, to whom the property now belongs. On the left of the garden, and within the enclosure, is a large building which was sacred to the ladies of the king's harem; and it is here that Raja Kunwar Harnam Singh, Ahluwalia, C. I. E., Manager of the Kapurthala Estates in Oudh, and President and Secretary British Indian Association, resides during his visits to Lucknow. The garden now partakes more of the nature of an orchard, but it is not altogether destitute of flowers.

The annual distribution of prizes to children of the Sunday Schools are generally held here during Christmas week. On such occasions the garden presents a very animated scene. The prizes are generally distributed towards the close of the day's entertainment, which consists of out-door games by the children, for whom refreshments are abundantly provided.

33.—MOTEE MAHAL.

The Motee Mahal, or Pearl Palace, so named after a favorite Begum of the King, is situated on the right bank of the Goomtee, a little above the Shah Nujuf. It includes three separately named and distinct buildings now the property of the Maharani of Bulrampur. The Motee Mahal, properly so called, was built by Sa'adat Ali Khan (1793-1814) and forms the northern part of the enclosure, which contains the Mobaruk Munzil and Shah Munzil, or royal hall, built along the river face by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar. It was the prettiest building of the kind at Lucknow.

The Shah Munzil was the scene of the celebrated wild beast fights of the smaller animals; and the combats between tigers, &c., was also held within the enclosure of this building. But the encounter between the elephant and rhinoceros, which required to be viewed at a safe distance, took place across the river on the ground in front of the Hazree Bagh, the building now occupied by the Oudh Ice Company, the King and his court watching it from the verandah of the Shah Munzil.

It was in the court-yard of the Motee Mahal that Doctor Bartram and Brigadier Cooper, of the Artillery, were killed on the 26th of September, and it was here that Colonel Campbell, of H. M.'s 90th, was mortally wounded. This was the advanced position taken by Sir Colin Campbell's relieving army; and it was in this place that the rear guard and heavy guns and wounded men of General Havelock's force halted on the night of the 25th September 1857 (*vide* page 66).

34.—KHURSHAED MUNZIL.

The Khurshaed Munzil,* or Happy Palace, was named after Khurshaed Zadi, the wife of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan, who began the construction of the edifice, which was completed by his son Ghazi-ud-din Haidar. The Khurshaed Munzil is built in the form of a castle. It is surrounded by a moat 12 feet broad, over which there was formerly a drawbridge, but this has since been replaced by a masonry bridge (or bridges, since there are now four entrances), by which access is gained to the building. It was not devoted to any particular purpose during the time of the kings of Oudh, but, after the annexation, it was used as the Mess house of the officers of the 32nd Regiment.

This handsome and commodious double-storied building is now the property of the Governors of the Lucknow Martiniere

* Struck by lightning on evening of 12th March 1891, without injury to life or property.

to whom it was made over, on 27th November 1876, as a free gift from Government, for the use of the Martiniere Girls' High School. Extensive additions and improvements have been made to the building and it is now admirably suited to the requirements of a Boarding School by the expenditure thereon of more than sixty thousand rupees from the Martiniere "Female Education Fund." The situation is one of the healthiest in Lucknow, and the School grounds are extensive, and give ample scope for exercise and recreation to the pupils. The instruction is in accordance with the new Code for the education of European children in India ; and pupils are prepared for the Government High, or Final Standard Examination.

35.—TARAWALIE KOTHIE.

The Tarawalie Kothie, or observatory (now occupied by the Bank of Bengal) was built in the reign of Nasir-ud-din Haidar, under the supervision of Colonel Wilcox, Astronomer Royal to the King, who had it fitted with the necessary astronomical instruments.

The Colonel died in 1847, and Wajid Ali Shah dismissed the establishment. The instruments were put by, but they were all destroyed in the mutiny. The Fyzabad Molvie, Ahmed-ul-lah Shah, better known as Dunka Shah, from his always having a drum beaten before him when he went out, made this place his head-quarters during the rebellion ; and the rebel leaders held their meetings here (see page 73, para. 97).

36.—SHAH NUJUF.

The Shah Nujuf, or Nujuf Ashraf, is situated on the right bank of the Goontee close to the Horticultural gardens. It was built by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, the first king of Oudh, as a Mausoleum, and contains the remains of this King, his wife, and other members of the royal family. It derives its name "Nujuf" from the hill on which the tomb of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed, is built, of which this tomb is a copy. It has been largely endowed by the King for the maintenance of an establishment to look after it, and to defray the expenses of the illumination, which takes place there twice a year, once during the Mohurram festival, and again on the anniversary of the King's death, a day being set apart, during the Mohurram specially, for European visitors, who are admitted to the building to see the illumination up to mid-night, after which the native public are allowed access to the place (see page 73, para. 95.)

37.—KUDUM RUSOOL.

The Kudum Rusool, or "The Prophet's foot print," was a

Mohamedan place of worship built in the time of Nasir-ud-din Haidar (1827-1837) on an artificial mound of earth to the east of the Shah Nujuf. It contained a stone bearing the impress of a foot, supposed to be that of the Prophet, which was brought from Arabia, by a pilgrim, as a sacred relic. During the mutiny this stone was carried off and has not since been recovered. It is no longer a place of veneration and is fast falling into decay (see page 15, para. 11).

38.—SECUNDER BAGH.

The Secunder Bagh is a quadrangular enclosure (it is about 150 yards square), with turrets at the angles, and originally contained a garden, prettily laid out with a summer house in the centre, which is still standing. It was built by King Wajid Ali Shah (1847—1856) who bestowed it on one of his wives, Secunder Mahal, from whom it derives its name. Intrinsically there is nothing now in the place deserving of notice; its fame arises from the tremendous retribution that here overtook the rebel sepoys at the final relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell (see page 72, paras. 93 and 94).

39.—LAWRENCE TERRACE.

Lawrence Terrace, also known as Chauper Stables, is so called from the four arms of a cross in which form the block was originally built. This building was erected by Sa'adat Ali Khan, (1798—1814) and in it were kept the choicest of the King's horses, but, after the annexation, it was converted into barracks for the 32nd Regiment (see p. 14, para. 10). The arms east and west were demolished after the mutiny, and those now existing were converted into apartments and let out at moderate rent. The south end rooms are occupied by the Union Club, which is principally supported by members of the Uncovenanted Service. This place was captured by Sir Colin Campbell on the 16th November 1857.

40.—CHOUK.

The Chouk was built in Asuf-ud-daulah's time, but, of the two gates at each end of it, the southern one is said to belong to an earlier date. It is called the Akbari Darwaza and was, probably, built by one of the Subadars of Oudh, who named it after Akbar, the founder of this Subah.

41.—KAZMINE AND DURGAH OF HUZRAT ABBAS.

Proceeding westward from the Chouk we come to two singular Durgahs, or Mohamedan shrines, one the Kazmine, built by Shurf-ud-daulah and said to be a copy of the tomb of the two Imams, Moosa Kazim and Raza Kazim, of Khorasan; and the other built by Dian-ud-daulah on the model of the tomb of

the Imam Hussain at Karbala. But except when these places are illuminated during the Mohurram festival, there is nothing to repay a visit.

The Durgah of Huzrat Abbas, which is also in the city, is another place of sanctity and resort, wherein the banner of Abbas, a relative of Ali, who was killed in the battle of Karbala, is deposited. It was here that Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan is said to have received a sudden awakening which converted him from a wild and vicious youth to the sober, practical statesman he became.

42.—ALUM BAGH

Is situated on the Cawnpore road about two miles south-west of the Railway station. The building in the centre of the garden was constructed by one of the Begums of Wajid Ali Shah, the ex-King of Oudh. It was captured by General Havelock on the 25th September 1857, and the wounded and sick, with spare stores, were left here on the General's advance to the relief of the Residency (see page 68, para. 86). General Havelock is buried within the enclosure, on the north side of the building, which is, at the present time, in a state of disrepair.

It was on the top of this building that a semaphore was erected, by means of which the Commander-in-Chief communicated with General Outram in the Residency (see page 71, para. 91). An obelisk marks the spot where lie the mortal remains of Sir Henry Havelock.

" Here in this park his sacred ashes lie,
No more a sweet and pleasant sylvan glade,
But now a waste of weeds and filthy wreck
Where starveling cattle browse a scanty blade,
Where foul and fetid odors taint the air,
Here on his battle ground he lies forgot.
A weeping widow, not his country, raised
The simple monument that marks the spot."

JOSEPH B. S. BOYLE.





INTRODUCTION TO THE RESIDENCY.

The Residency has been immortalised by the poet besides the historian, both of whom are lavish in their praises at the valor displayed by the defenders, a small band of heroes who prevented the place from falling into the hands of the rebels by the resolute courage with which they defended it against every assault of the enemy by whom they were so greatly harassed, and, at times, most sorely pressed.

This was specially so during the "Grand Attack" when the foe attempted to take the place by storm. Having assembled in overwhelming numbers, they simultaneously began the attack on all sides of the intrenched position, with a great show of determination, but the garrison, nothing daunted at this, made a most desperate resistance which saved it from a possible catastrophe. The enemy, foiled in the attempt to take the position by a *coup-de-main*, sullenly withdrew to the intense relief of the exhausted garrison, who fought with the courage of despair, and whose energies were taxed to the utmost on this occasion.

This attack was evidently precipitated by the rebels hearing of the advance of the first relieving force under the late lamented General Havelock, who, with his brave troops, subsequently formed a junction with the beleaguered garrison in the Residency, where they, themselves, were afterwards besieged. But by their advent the position was saved and the prestige of the British Arms preserved, though at a very great sacrifice.

The heroic defence of the Residency during the prolonged investment of the place, by the rebels, forms an episode in Indian History as being connected with the memorable sepoy rebellion of 1857-58. It, therefore, possesses a peculiar interest to tourists and others who are attracted thither from all parts of the globe; and persons of every nationality may be seen walking through the extensive grounds of the place in contemplation of the ruins around where a death-like stillness pervades.

On entering the Residency the mind of the visitor is filled with strange emotions, and this feeling is intensified when standing beneath the battered walls—silent witnesses of the fierce conflict that raged there as already narrated.

Grateful at the deliverance of the beleaguered garrison from their perilous position, in which the finger of God is manifest, and proud of the victory achieved by the British, which was a triumph of Christianity over heathenism, the visit is

sorrowfully brought to a close at the thought of the illustrious dead who sank to rest within its sacred precincts; of brave fathers and sons; of heroic women and dear children who found an early grave amidst the ruined grandeur where they fell, and over which they shed a holy radiance.

Many will be affected at reflecting on the sufferings, both in mind and body, which they endured before their dissolution, but the Christian will find comfort in the knowledge that death to them meant eternal life, and that their spirits have fled beyond the turmoil of war to that blest abode above, to which they were translated by blessed Faith and Hope in the Redeemer.

THE INQUIRY.

"I asked the murmuring winds,
If they could waft me where
The heart no more could grieve,
Or sorrow shed a tear,
Free from the cares of life,
Where man might cease to mourn,
And rest from toil and strife :
The loud winds coldly whisper'd drear and low,
Sighing with pity as they responded, "No.—"

I asked the mighty deep,
Whose billows round me rose,
If sad and suffering man
Could find some sweet repose—
Some blest isle far away,
Where friendship cannot die,
Where love unsullied reigns,
Bright as its native sky :
The proud waves shrank ; but with tumultuous flow,
Repeated, as the winds, in sternness "No.—"

Thou mildly beaming moon,
That smil'st with holy face,
Hast thou in all thy rounds
Ere seen some happy place :
In night's serenest hours,
Hast thou beheld some spot
Where man might cease to sigh,
And change his chequer'd lot ?
'Mid cloudy tears, the moon withdrew in woe,
And hid her beams as she responded "No —"

I asked of Faith and Hope,
If they could tell of bliss ;
Or lead to sacred scenes
Where perfect pleasure is :
Untouched by sin and death,
Some hallowed spot of peace,
Where grief might find a balm,
And weariness release ;
Blest Faith and Hope, from God divinely given,
Plumed their bright wings, and echoed, "Yes," in Heaven.

PART V.

GUIDE TO THE RESIDENCY.*

(See model† in the Museum by the Revd. T. Moore, former Chaplain of Lucknow.)

A.—RESIDENCY.

This was originally an imposing edifice, along the west side of which extended a wide and lofty colonnaded verandah. The main entrance was, on the east side, under a handsome portico, which, at the beginning of the siege, was barricaded with boxes filled with earth, but the building was ill-adapted for purposes of defence, as it contained numberless lofty windows which could not be effectually barricaded, and the roof was only protected by an open balustrade. On the turret to the left, as you enter, was erected a semaphore for telegraphic communication with Muchee Bhawun Fort, and subsequently with the Commander-in-Chief at Alum Bagh.

In the open space between the water-gate and Hospital, the line of defence (indicated by the dotted lines on the map) ran along the irregular ridge of the high level, which was protected by a ditch and low bank of earth made breast-high by the addition of sand-bags. These served as a protection to our men, who were enabled to fire, with comparative safety, through the interstices. Within this space three guns were placed, *viz.*, a 9-pounder, an 18-pounder, and a 24-pound howitzer, at the back of which, in the open space in front of the Residency, were planted two 8-inch mortars, pointing in the direction of the city.

The Residency grounds had been most tastefully laid out in parterres and contained the choicest flowers and shrubs, but in a short time one could hardly recognize the place which was suddenly transformed into an arsenal, piles of shot and shell having taken the place of flowers and shrubs which were everywhere trodden down, and of which there was soon not a vestige left.

The ground floor of the Residency was occupied by soldiers of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, under the command of Captain

* A nominal list of all the European members of the original garrison is given at end of book.

† A room in the Residency, lately renovated, contains a model shewing the defences; and it is contemplated to send one to the British Museum in London. It is constructed on a scale of 20 superficial feet to the inch, and, in perpendicular measurement, the scale is 5 feet (for ground only) to the inch.

Etchings of the Residency are to be had of Messrs. Peake, Allen and Co., Lucknow, at Rs. 3 per set of 6 views.

Lowe, of the same corps; the rest of the building was completely filled by officers' ladies and children. On the south were excellent tykhanas, or subterranean rooms, in which the women and children of the 32nd Regiment were located. In the upper room, on the south, above the tykhanas, Miss Palmer, the daughter of Colonel Palmer, 48th N.I., was wounded in the leg, on 1st July, by a round shot, which caused her death. On the second story, at the east angle of the main building, on the following day, Sir Henry Lawrence was mortally wounded, and died on the 4th, in Dr. Fayrer's house. No sooner had the siege commenced, then the exposed position of the Residency (in front of which Treasure to the amount of twenty-three lacs of rupees was buried) began to be severely felt, and the ladies and children abandoned the upper stories. The Mess of the 32nd kept possession of a centre room, on the first floor, until several casualties occurred, when they, too, were obliged to evacuate.

About the 8th August a 24-pound shot entered the centre room of the building and wounded Ensign Studdy, of the 32nd, in the arm, from the effects of which he died; and, on the 11th of the same month, a gust of wind struck the north-east wing, part of which fell, burying six men of the same corps. On the 24th August, the entire length of the verandah along two stories on the west side fell, and buried seven of the 32nd men. On this date Mr. Ramsay, Assistant in charge of the telegraph, was shot, and died instantly. The death rate, for many days, averaged 20. By the end of July 170 casualties had occurred in the 32nd only.

On the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell's army on the 17th November, orders were received to prepare for leaving. The women, children, and the sick were ordered to the Dilkusha encampment, but the men were obliged to stay behind for several days to guard the various posts. Only a certain amount of baggage was allowed to each person, and many valuable things were left behind. Such a scene as the Residency then presented was really sad to behold. Women's apparel, children's clothes, rich dresses, men's clothes, and all kinds of cooking utensils and plated ware, bedding, &c., were left behind. The guns were removed from most of the batteries, and other guns, formerly the property of the King of Oudh, were burst. The ordnance stores and treasure, and State prisoners, were removed at the same time. Many delicate ladies had to walk six miles, over very rough ground, exposed at one place (between the Motee Mahal and Shah Nujuf) to the fire of the enemy. By a General Order, dated 23rd November, the Commander-in-Chief describes this movement of retreat, by

which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, as a model of discipline and exactness. The enemy was completely deceived, the force retiring by a narrow, tortuous lane (the only line of retreat open in the face of over 50,000 enemies) without molestation.

In such a way was the evacuation of the Residency of Lucknow effected, after enduring a close siege of 87 days, during which the enemy were always within pistol-shot; a further period of 60 days elapsed after the arrival of Generals Havelock and Outram, when the enemy were driven back on two sides of the position. In all 147 days of siege without parallel in history. (See page 33, para. 51).

B.—BANQUETING HALL.

(GENERAL HOSPITAL.)

From the commencement this was converted into an hospital. It was two-storied, with very large and lofty rooms on the upper story; it stands on the same level with the Residency, and, having numerous large doors and windows, suffered much from the enemy's bullets and shot; the openings on the exposed sides (east and south) were closed, and protected with tents and other materials.

On the 8th July the Reverend Mr. Polehampton was severely wounded, in one of the rooms, by a rifle ball fired, from Johannes' house, by "Bob the Nailer," a nickname for the African eunuch, who shot many a man in the early days of the siege, and who was stopped in his career by a mine begun from the Martiniere post, and, passing under Johannes' house, blew up the latter, thus relieving the garrison of a most deadly fire from which we had suffered.

The north-east line of defence, from the hospital to the Redan, was garrisoned by the 71st and 48th Native Infantries, under command of Captain Strangways and Colonel Palmer, respectively. For a description of the scenes of suffering which occurred in this building, and the heroism of many delicately nurtured ladies in attending to the wounded and dying, we must refer the reader to the book entitled "A Lady's Diary of the siege of Lucknow."

During the siege the Rev. Father Bernard, R. C. Chaplain, occupied the staircase in the east corner of the Hospital.

C.—THE TREASURY AND GATEWAY.

Both these posts were garrisoned by the 13th N.I., under the command of Lt. Aitken. The treasury is situated on the right at the entrance into the Residency compound. The long room in the centre of the building served as a laboratory for making Enfield cartridges, which Major North, of the relieving force, made from a mould belonging to Lt. Sewell, and a second was found in the garrison. But for this the relieving force would have been virtually disarmed, as far as the Enfield was concerned, and would have had to depend on the miserable Brown Bess which was the weapon used by the men of the 32nd Regiment during the siege.

As the gateway of the Residency is still standing it need not, therefore, be described. The gates were in good order in July 1857; during the siege they were banked up from the inside with earth. The road leading from the Residency, through the gateway, to the public highway, was, throughout, a steep descent. Three field-pieces (two 9-pounders and a 24-pound howitzer) were put in position on this road, and completely commanded the ascent from the gateway. On the 2nd July the enemy made an attack on the position, but was repulsed; Lieutenant Graham received a bayonet-wound in the groin from one of the assailants, who was bold enough to advance to the very walls.

On the 20th August an attempt was made to destroy the gates by fire, but the flames were extinguished without causing injury (*Vide* page 52, para. 66). The enemy commenced a mine against this position from the palaces, only 20 paces away from the gateway, compelling Lieutenant Aitken to commence a countermine, but the enemy's mine was destroyed by a heavy fall of rain. The position of Aitken's gun rendered the Clock Tower untenable by the enemy. A mosque close to it, which afforded shelter to two of the enemy's guns, was destroyed by Aitken. A galling musketry fire from the Naubat Khana made the south-east corner of this position almost untenable, and far from comfortable.

On the 25th September, Generals Outram and Havelock entered through the embrasure of Aitken's battery (*Vide* page 64, para. 82). On the afternoon of the 27th a sortie was made on the buildings, which afterwards formed part of Lockhart's post (78th Highlanders), directed against a battery of the enemy known as Phillips' garden battery (opposite to our south-east angle), with the object of capturing their guns. In consequence, however, of the paucity of men sent not exceeding 120, the party were unable to accomplish their object, and were obliged to return after spiking two guns.

The guard-house has since been demolished. It was built in a crescent shape outside the gate, and, not being within the line of defences, afforded shelter to the enemy in their attacks on Aitken's, Fayrer's, and the Financial posts. On the 28th September, Lieutenant Alexander, one of the few surviving artillery officers, while walking on the road outside the Bailey Guard gate, was killed by a round shot.

D.—DR. FAYRER'S HOUSE

Is described as a very extensive lower-roomed building, with a flat roof, protected by sand-bags all round, behind which the inmates were enabled to keep up a fire upon the enemy. There was also a large tykhana beneath, which served as a shelter for the ladies.

This post was defended by a party of sepoy pensioners, under the command of Captain Weston, Superintendent of the Military Police. It was commanded by the Clock Tower, and was much exposed to the enemy's fire. A 9-pounder loaded with grape, was placed in front of the building, in a north-easterly direction, to command the Bailey Guard gate.

It was here that Sir Henry Lawrence breathed his last, on 4th July, after removal from the Residency. Here also Sir James Outram, with his staff, fixed their head-quarters on the arrival of Havelock's relieving force.

E.—SAUNDERS, (FINANCIAL POST).

The road ran below this garrison which was a large and extensive building of two stories, on high ground, being separated, from Dr. Fayrer's house, by a lane, across which was erected a barricade. There were two verandahs to the house which was barricaded with furniture and boxes. It communicated with the Residency through the Post Office (being commanded by two 18-pounders and a 9-pounder at the latter place) and was garrisoned by a party of the 32nd Regiment and uncovenanted civilians under command of Captain Saunders, 41st Native Infantry.

It is described as a most uncomfortable position, both to hold and approach; for the only way of reaching it was by sliding down a steep and slippery descent in the rear of the building, which descent was completely exposed to the musketry fire of the enemy. It was still more dangerous to leave the position, as the noise made by the falling stones,

displaced by the departing soldier as he nimbly scrambled up the ascent, attracted the attention of the insurgents, which brought on him a sharp fire.

This was a most important post, and was one of the two great objects of the enemy's fourth grand attack on the 5th September. Between the 1st and 5th they ran three mines in succession against it, but were foiled in each attempt. During the attack the enemy rushed up to the barricade that ran along the front of the verandah, but were driven back by hand-grenades, and by the flanking fire from the Post Office. The number of mines that were blown up in front of the Financial Garrison had so broken up the ground as to render this position quite impervious to further attacks of this kind by the time of the first relief.

F.—SAGO'S HOUSE.

This is described as a small lower-roomed house (the property of Mrs. Sago, a school-mistress) separated by a wall from the Financial out-post. The enclosing wall and compound were abandoned, and the defence confined to the building itself; although higher than the road, yet it stood low and was much exposed. This position was commanded by the two 18-pounders and a 9-pounder at the Post Office, and was held until ruined on the 14th August. It was garrisoned by a party of the 32nd Regiment under command of Lieutenant Clery of the same corps.

On 10th August the enemy sprang a mine against this post, which fortunately only brought down a few out-houses, and "two European soldiers who had stood sentinel at one of the out-house picquets were blown into the air, but both escaped with their lives. One, who fell within the compound, was slightly bruised, and the other was thrown into the middle of the road which separated us from the enemy. He no sooner found himself unhurt, than he got upon his legs, jumped over our wall and made his escape in perfect safety, notwithstanding the shower of bullets that whistled past his ears."

This was one of the principal points of attack on this date. It was begun by the springing of an enemy's mine there, which did no practical harm; and the mining was then continued on both sides for three days, till the enemy were blown in and defeated. Finally, a gallery of the enemy's fell in from the

heaviness of the rain on the 29th August, and the garrison, early in the following month, completed the needful mines to foil any other such attempts that might be made there.

G.—GERMONS, (JUDICIAL POST).

This post consisted of an extensive upper-roomed house between Anderson's and the Post Office, and was a most important position. It was barricaded on all sides with furniture, &c., and was much exposed to the enemy's fire from the east, also from the turret on Johannes' house on the west; an earthwork and a wall of fascines protected it on the road side. It was garrisoned by uncovenanted civilians (whose families also found shelter here) and the Sikhs of the 13th N. I., commanded by Captain Germon, of the same regiment.

This post is described as having been almost battered out of the perpendicular, and the walls were so crumbled away, and eaten into by the incessant rain of bullets, that it is hardly too much to say that it was breached by musketry. The enemy's position was just across the road, and they assaulted frequently with great determination. More hand-to-hand conflicts took place here than in any other post in the defences. The enemy commenced an elaborate mine for the destruction of this building, but a countermine was sunk, from the well still existing, which resulted in the destruction of about 20 of the rebels.

H.—POST OFFICE.

This important position was the head-quarters of the Engineers and Artillery. It commanded the *Hawalat*, Jail, and mosque to the right, also Clock Tower and out-offices of the Tehree Kothi to the left, besides protecting the Financial out-post and Sago's garrison below. It was defended by a party of the 32nd Regiment, commanded by Captain McCabe of the same corps, who was killed on the 29th of September. Mrs. Kavanagh had the calf of her leg shot away at this post, but survived. Its defence consisted of two 18 pounders and a 9-pounder, pointing in different directions; also two mortars playing on the Cawnpore road.

There was a workshop attached to it for the manufacture of tools and preparation of shells and fuses during the first siege. The wall bounding the south side communicated by breaches with the Jail, Native Hospital, Martiniere post and Cawnpore Battery, as well as the Judicial and Anderson's garrisons. Major Anderson,

the Chief Engineer, whose head-quarters were at this place, and from whence he directed all engineering operations, died here of dysentery on the 11th August 1857.

I.—ANDERSON'S POST.

This building, situated on the Cawnpore road, was two-storied, on high ground, and formed the south-east angle of our position. It was defended by a party of the 32nd Regiment and uncovenanted civilians, under the command of Captain Anderson, 25th N. I., Assistant Commissioner. It was surrounded by a trench, within which was a stockade bound with interlaced bamboos. This was one of the most exposed outworks in the place, as the enemy, throughout the siege, were only distant seventy to eighty yards in front.

It was exposed day and night to the fire of the enemy's heavy guns, and when it is remembered how close these were planted, some idea may be formed as to the effect on the building. Among the foes' heavy ordnance was an 8 inch howitzer. This piece used to throw shells clean through the walls of the house, and right into the only room where the commander and volunteers slept, eight in number. Later in the siege nine Europeans and a Sergeant of the 32nd joined the little garrison, making in all, with the commander and a subaltern officer, only twenty men! Mr. Capper, of the Civil Service, had a narrow escape in this house, having been buried in the debris of a verandah.

On the 20th July the enemy advanced to the attack in force, led by a man carrying a green standard, who was shot, and fell into the trench, upon which the remainder fled. On the 10th August another attack was made with identical results. This, from its salient position, was one of the most important and dangerous of the outposts. It was two-storied, and had also a tykhana, or subterranean rooms, from which the defensive mines were begun. The upper story was battered to pieces, but was a valuable look out.

The enemy sprang a mine directed at this post on the 10th August. This immediately led to the construction of a series of countermines, which were eventually united. Through their agency, a mine of the enemy's was detected and destroyed on the 9th September.

J.—CAWNPORE BATTERY.

This battery was commenced, in the early part of June, by Lieut. J. C. Anderson, and is described as consisting of three

guns garrisoned by a party of the 32nd Regiment, commanded by a daily relief of Captains, and Captain Radcliffe, 7th Light Cavalry, mounting an 18-pounder facing the Cawnpore road, and a 9-pounder commanding Johannes' house, which was right opposite the Martiniere post. Another 9-pounder was intended to sweep the road leading towards Golagunge, in front of the King's Hospital, or Brigade Mess. Before the platform, on which the large gun was placed (it was protected without by a stockade and within by sand-bags) was a trench leading past Captain Anderson's compound wall. In this battery were killed, on 9th July, Mr. Bryson, of the Volunteer Cavalry; on 19th, Lieutenant Arthur, 7th Light Cavalry; and Lieutenant Lewin, of the Artillery, on the 26th. Captain Radcliffe, the commander, was severely wounded, on 25th September, from the effects of which he died.

The battery, as mounted with guns, was of little use, seeing that the men could not stand by their guns on account of the heavy musketry fire directed at them from the turret of Johannes' house. Many of its defenders were shot daily in their endeavours to keep the enemy out; and even thus it must frequently have been lost, but for the flanking fire kept up from the Martiniere post, and the rifles of the ever-watchful defenders of that all-important post, the Brigade Mess.

K.—DUPRAT'S HOUSE

Was a lower-storied building, with a verandah, having a sloping roof protected by a mud wall pierced for musketry. It overlooked Johannes' wall and contained three large rooms, with a tykhana beneath, having the same number of rooms. There was another tykhana under the verandah. A mud wall, about nine feet high, was constructed leading in a straight line to the wall of the next house, the Martiniere post protecting very imperfectly a little yard with a well in the centre.

By the 10th of August this house was nearly reduced to ruins by the incessant fire of the enemy. The verandah first came down, then the outer wall was demolished. In this house were placed the valuable library of Captain Hayes, and other property belonging to officers, which was totally destroyed.

In August a large quantity of small picks, *phowrahs*, and tarpaulins were discovered stored on the roof.

L.—JAIL

Used as a convalescent depôt, was a well ventilated, lofty,

Barrack, divided into four equal sized compartments, with grated doors and spacious out-offices. The Cawnpore Battery was on the south; the Post Office on the east; and the Martiniere post and Native hospital on the west.

M.—MARTINIÈRE POST.

This was a native building belonging to Sah Beharie Lall, a banker. It was a single-storied house, with a good parapet, protecting its flat roof. It was separated from the Brigade Mess by a broad road which was closed by a strong palisade and bank extending along the out-side front of the Martiniere post. The Martiniere building, "Constantia," being too remote, the boys, under Mr. Schilling, were moved into the Residency on 13th June, and this building allotted for their quarters. It was defended by a party of the 32nd Regiment—masters and students of the College—under command of Mr. Schilling, Principal of the Martiniere.

On the 10th August a mine was sprung by the enemy in front of Johannes' house, which entirely blew down the verandah and outer room of the post, destroying also upwards of fifty feet of palisades and defences. The rooms in which were Mr. Schilling and his boys became thus completely exposed; the outer verandah, which was providentially unoccupied at the moment, being blown away. The doors connecting the inner rooms with the verandah were, however, open, and through these doors the enemy, who swarmed in Johannes' house, could be plainly seen. For some minutes they neither fired, nor made any attempt to advance, so that Mr. Schilling and the boys had time to close the intervening doors securely. The enemy soon after commenced firing, and a private who had accompanied Brigadier Inglis to the scene of the disaster was killed by a bullet passing through the door-panels (see page 50). The foe soon occupied in force all the surrounding buildings from which they commenced a furious fusilade; they made several attempts to get into the Cawnpore Battery, but a steady musketry fire made them beat a hasty retreat. They managed, however, to get into the cellars beneath, and made it very uncomfortable in the courtyard by firing through the grating; and as it was dangerous to step forward to fire down the grating, it seemed as if one of the posts was really lost. Captain McCabe of the 32nd Regiment, however, came to the rescue with a few hand-grenades, which were dropped into the tykhana, killing three, and the remainder found things so uncomfortable that they vanished, still, however, retaining possession of the

trench of the Cawnpore Battery, until driven out of that, too, by the withering fire that was directed at them from the Brigade Mess.

This building (the Martiniere post) had a tykhana, and the front of the tykhana was lined by a range of small shops. The roofs of these shops prevented the effective use of hand-grenades from the principal floor, and it consequently at first appeared, on the 10th August (after the enemy had sprung their mine ineffectually) that some of the sepoys, who had rushed into the shops, had made a secure lodgment. But they were driven away by hand-grenades discharged through the loopholes of the tykhana. The garrison then made a breach at one end of the tykhana, and so got into the end shop, beginning with which they barricaded the whole of the front of the shops. From this post the garrison began the mine, which, passing under Johannes' house, blew it up on the 21st August, relieving the besieged garrison of the most deadly musketry fire from which it had suffered.

N.—NATIVE HOSPITAL.

This was formerly the bullock-train office. It consisted of a square of low out-offices situated between the Martiniere post, the Brigade Mess, the Post Office, Civil Dispensary, and Convalescent depôt.

O.—KING'S HOSPITAL, OR BRIGADE MESS.

This post, commonly known as the Brigade Mess, was garrisoned by officers, commanded by Colonel Master, 7th Light Cavalry. It was a lofty double-storied solid masonry structure, particularly in its outside, or south front, where the massive wall rose to a height overlooking all the neighbouring houses. In the rear of the main building and outer enclosure were courts, called the first and second squares. The body of the building was used by the officers of the Light Cavalry and Native Infantry as a Mess; hence its name. The two inner courts were surrounded by lines of low, flat, masonry buildings, which afforded accommodation to many families, and which were protected by high walls from the enemy's fire. It was here that ladies Inglis and Couper occupied rooms. On the 7th July Major Francis, 13th N. I., received his death wound from a round shot while sitting in the upper story; both his legs were fractured. Major Bruere, of the same corps, was killed here.

In the beginning of September the outer wall of the building fell, bringing down the rooms of the upper story. It sustained a rigorous attack on the 20th July, but the rebels were repulsed. On the 10th August a mine was sprung by the enemy in front of the Martiniere post, which blew down the stockade traversing the lane leading from Johannes' house to the Post Office; a few of the enemy attempted to enter, but were repulsed. On the evacuation of Lucknow, an officer was left behind: Captain Waterman went to bed in a retired corner of the Brigade Mess and overslept himself. At two o'clock in the morning he awoke, and found, to his horror, that every one had left; everything was silent and deserted, and he in an open intrenchment with thousands of rebels outside; like a wise man, he took to his heels and ran, never stopping until he came up with the retiring rear-guard.

P.—SIKH SQUARE.

This post, next to the Brigade Mess, was commanded by Captain Hardinge, Oudh Irregular Infantry. It consisted of two square enclosures, surrounded by rows of low, flat roofed buildings, known as Sikh Square, so designated because they were occupied during the siege by the Sikh Cavalry. At the south-west angle, the native buildings, densely occupied by the enemy, closely adjoined the line of our defence, overlooking the roofs of the buildings, which were protected by sand-bags, and other materials planted for the men to fire from. The squares were separated from the eastern wall of Gubbins' compound, which was closed; but its best defence was a 24-pound howitzer placed so as to sweep the street. On the 18th of August the enemy sprung a mine under the outer defences of the left Sikh Square, which blew down an out-house at the south-west corner, sending Lieutenant Mecham, of the Oudh Irregular Infantry, Captain Orr, of the Military Police, and a drummer into the air; they providentially escaped with but slight injuries.

Six drummers and one sepoy were, however, buried amidst the ruins. A breach having been made in the Sikh Yard Battery of 30 feet in breadth, two 9-pounders were brought to bear on it; the embrasures were made in a wall about fifty yards in rear of the breach, and the guns were always kept loaded with grape. The breach was partially closed with doors and tent *kanats*, but any steady driver could have driven a coach and four through it without much fear of an upset. To watch this open breach was one more addition to the daily increasing work of the gallant garrison of the Brigade Mess.

Q.—BEGUM KOTHIE

Was previously the dwelling place of the grand-daughter of Buksh Ally, whose mother had been a Miss Walters; it was one of the most extensive buildings within the whole line of our intrenchment. A lofty gateway, nearly fronting the road leading to Johannes' house, served as an entrance. A double range of out-offices formed a square within a square, one side of which consisted of a fine Imambara, used as a place of Mohamedan worship. Some of these buildings contained fine and lofty apartments, which were afterwards made use of by officers' families, &c.; others were lower-roomed cook-houses, having very deep foundations, and appearing from the road leading past the Post Office to Dr. Fayrer's to be considerably higher than they really were.

A fine upper-roomed house served as the commissariat store-room. A mosque which, at the desire of the Begum was not made use of, was within the Kothie. As the Begum Kothie was supposed to be pretty safe, being in the very centre of our defences, the inmates were required to garrison the *bhoosa* enclosure.

Mr. Quieros' house, with the stabling, used as a canteen and liquor store-room, were, together with the main guard house behind, considered as forming part of the Begum Kothie, with which it was connected by a breach in a wall and several narrow passages.

R.—GRANT'S BASTION.

This was a high, square, flat-roofed building belonging to a native, which was taken possession of by Mr. Gubbins. On it was erected a parapet. Mr. Duprat was wounded here through a loop-hole, and died soon afterwards.

It derived its name from Lieutenant Grant, of the Bombay Army, one of the Duriabad refugees, who commanded this post during the greater part of the siege, and who was killed by the bursting of a hand-grenade in his hand.

S.—GUBBINS' BATTERY.

This is described as a half-moon battery, mounting one 9-pounder that commanded the road between Johannes' house leading down to Hill's shop by the Iron Bridge, the Golagunge Bazaar, and numerous buildings to the west. The ground from which the bastion had been commenced was about 18 feet below that

of the compound, and, when abandoned on account of the Chin-hut disaster, the work was about ten feet high. It was constructed by Lieutenant Hutchinson, and was of great solidity.

The outer enclosing wall, which was 10 feet thick, was of masonry. It was strengthened by very large upright beams let into the ground, on both sides of the wall, at the distance of five feet apart; these were bound together by cross pieces of wood firmly nailed to the uprights. Within the enclosing parapet earth had been heaped, but the parapet had not attained the height of ten feet all round when it had to be relinquished.

To complete this work a rough palisade was constructed of rafters, doors, &c., outside which the earth was scarped away as much as possible to render the assault difficult. The battery was ultimately raised to the required height, and a 9-pounder, and subsequently an 18-pounder, were mounted on it. The civilians of the covenanted service who aided in defending this post were Messrs. M. Ommaney, G. Couper, S. Martin, G. Benson, W. C. Capper, J. B. Thornhill, and G. H. Lawrence.

T.—GUBBINS' GARRISON.

This house, which was constructed of solid masonry, consisted of two stories, "built by the king as a concert-room and cock-pit." It stood in a garden of no great extent, which sloped to the south, towards the enclosing wall, where the ground was lower than the level of the lane which divided the compound from the Goindah lines. Three sides of the roof of the building, which were exposed to the city, were barricaded. There were two porticos; the principal one, towards the south, being much exposed, especially from what was called the "Lane gun." This portico was overshadowed by an immense tree which intercepted many a shot, until ultimately it became quite denuded of branches. The south and west sides of the compound were bounded by out-houses, stables, and servants' houses, built of masonry with flat roofs. Along the latter loop-holed parapets were erected. For about one hundred yards on the south front, a low brick wall bounded the compound.

On the 14th of July an attack was made on this post in which Lieutenant Lester was killed by a matchlock ball. Lieutenant Grant and Captain Forbes were also wounded; and, on the 21st, Major Banks, whilst approaching the position (where Gubbins was employed in keeping the lane clear between his post and the Goindah lines), received a bullet through the temple. Dr. Brydon was also wounded here on the

20th July. On the 22nd Mrs. Dorin, who occupied a room on the north side, was killed by a matchlock ball. This post was commanded successively by Captain Forbes, 1st Light Cavalry, Captain Hawes, 5th Oudh Irregular Infantry, and Major Apthorp, 41st N. I.; and was defended by a party of the 32nd Regiment, Sepoy pensioners, 48th N. I., and Gubbins' Levies. On the 26th August Lieutenant Webb, of the 32nd, was killed. Captain Fulton, of the Engineers, a most distinguished officer, also fell here.

On the evening of the 2nd September, Lieutenant Birch, 59th N. I., was accidentally shot by one of our own sentries, who mistook him for an enemy. On the 20th July an attack was made, chiefly on the south side and around the unfinished south-east bastion. The enemy showed in great numbers; some ascended the south-east slope of the bastion (where the wall was incomplete) to the crest of the parapet, and were there shot. A very considerable force made an attack on the 21st, undeterred by their failure of the preceding day, but were compelled to retire. On the 10th August, another attempt was made to scale the south-west bastion, by bringing scaling ladders close to it. The assaulting party were, however, dislodged by hand-grenades. The Goindah lines were destroyed on the 22nd July by a sortie under Colonel Inglis.

U.—OMMANEY'S HOUSE.

This edifice was capacious and double-storied, and was occupied by Mr. Ommaney, the Judicial Commissioner, who was killed by a cannon shot in the Redan on the 5th of July. After the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, Brigadier Inglis established his head-quarters here. The building was protected by a deep ditch and hedge of cactus, and fortified by two guns, intended to sweep the road leading to Gubbins' post and the Sikh Square in the event of the former falling into the hands of the enemy. General Havelock, and such of his staff as were not wounded, took up their abode in this house. From this he used to walk, every morning, round all the posts of the palace, embracing a distance of more than two miles. It was this incessant strain on an already overstrained body which produced the dysentery to which he succumbed, at Dilkusha, on the 24th of November.

V.—SLAUGHTER-HOUSE POST.

This was used by the Commissariat Department for the slaughtering of animals (battery bullocks) for the use of the garrison, also for the custody of cattle and *bhoosa*, or chopped

straw. These buildings were originally the out-houses, cook-rooms, stabling, &c., of the Residency, and were entered through a gateway called the "Ghurrie Durwaza." At the angle stood the racquet court, filled with *bhoosa*, which, in the rains, became so saturated that it pushed down the walls, crushing a score, or so, of much valued cattle on which the garrison depended for fresh meat.

W.—SHEEP-HOUSE.

This row of out-houses was used by the Commissariat Department as a dépôt for the safe custody of sheep preparatory to their removal to the slaughter-house adjacent. Many Native Christians resided in the servants' rooms in this square, and used sometimes to desert over the outer wall towards Gola-gunge. As, however, the enemy invariably executed all Christians, the rest thought it wiser to remain on half rations than court inevitable death at their hands by desertion.

The sheep and slaughter-houses were defended by uncovenanted civilians, under the command of Captain Boileau, 7th Light Cavalry.

Sheep House Battery was begun, about the 12th September, at the end of the lane between the sheep-yard and the slaughter-yard, to flank and protect that front. After a few days the work was suspended, and then resumed about the 7th October, but the battery was never brought into use.

X.—CHURCH.

This was a Gothic building with numerous pinnacles. It was converted into store-rooms for grain, but was afterwards found too much exposed, and volunteer fatigue parties had to be obtained for the removal of the grain, oil, ghee, &c., which was a service of no slight danger.

At the gate to the east was a mortar battery to shell the whole of the western and northern buildings as far as the iron and stone bridges. Near the entrance descent to the church upon the road was placed a battery of three guns, one 18-pounder and two 9-pounders, which, from having been commanded during the siege by Captain Evans, the Deputy Commissioner of Poorwah, was known as Evans' Battery.

It was under cover of this building that pits were dug, every night, to receive the victims of the day's fire, cholera, or small-pox.

Y.—REDAN.

This battery was commenced about the 15th June, under the directions of Captain Fulton, and was by far the best battery we possessed in the line of defences. It was defended by a party of the 32nd Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Sam Lawrence, of the same corps, an able and gallant officer. It mounted two 18-pounders and a 9-pounder, and was placed so as to sweep the Captain Bazaar, and the road up to the Iron Bridge. Here, on the 5th July, Mr. Ommaney was struck by a cannon shot in the head, which caused his death. On the 20th July the enemy made an attack on this post, by springing a mine, but fortunately missed the right direction, and the battery remained uninjured. They advanced within 25 paces of the post, but were compelled to retire under a heavy discharge of musketry. No less than one hundred of the enemy were borne off the ground by their comrades from this post alone, so tremendous and precise was the fire.

The enemy made two mines directed against the Redan. The nose of the Redan was of brickwork, and I think that there was a small building abutting on it, a tool-house or something of the kind. The point in the bazaar where the *second* mine was started was 203 feet from the apex of the Redan, on a bearing of 72°. The actual direction of the mine was on a bearing of 101° and its extreme length was 157, the point reached being as nearly as possible 100 feet from the point aimed at. It was blown up, as a precautionary measure, by the garrison, on the 30th September.

The first mine was begun at a point 150 feet lower down the Captain Bazaar than the second, and was quite wrong in direction, and short in length. It was sprung innocuously on the 20th July.

There was a constant alarm that the enemy would undermine the Redan successfully, and the ground immediately in front of it was twice reconnoitred and sounded for mines, but none were discovered; and, as was known subsequently, none were made that really approached the Redan sufficiently near to endanger it.

Z.—INNES' HOUSE.

This post was separated from the church-yard by a low mud wall. It was a commodious, lower-roomed house, having a sloping pucca roof, with a verandah to the east and north, and consisted of four large and several small rooms; in the

centre room there was a stair-case leading to the roof. It was only very slightly protected by palisades and the ordinary mud compound wall. At the end of one stockade existed a mud shed, with a flight of stairs leading to an upper room called the cockloft, commanding the Iron Bridge. The position was defended by a party of the 32nd, a few sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry, and some uncovenanted civilians under the command of Lieutenant Loughnan,* 13th Native Infantry, and subsequently Captain Graydon, Oudh Irregular Infantry.

This extreme outpost was on the north-west, a most commanding position. On the 20th July a most fierce assault was made on this post; the enemy came close under the walls with scaling ladders, but so hot a fire was kept up from our position that they were unable to plant them against the wall; after repeated futile efforts the foe was forced to relinquish the attempt. While this was going on, the cockloft mentioned above was in the most imminent danger of being taken: Mr. Erith, Corporal of Volunteers, seeing the peril, advanced amidst a shower of bullets, but was struck in the neck and fell. Meanwhile another part of the outpost was resolutely held by George Bailey (also a volunteer) and a couple of sepoys, which resulted in the volunteer receiving a dangerous wound in the chin. This little party were, however, reinforced, and they held their own.

Another assault, accompanied by explosion of mines, was made, on the 10th August: the enemy's fire was incessant, especially from the 8-inch howitzer lost at Chinhut, which played on this post with fatal effect, bringing down beam after beam of the roof, and making a great many breaches in the wall. Captain Graydon was shot while superintending some works on a mound in front of the outpost. In September this place, after having sustained such a severe cannonading, was pronounced unsafe, two sides having fallen in, and nearly burying the sentries in the ruins.

The following account of the post and its defence has been kindly supplied by E. Bickers, Esq., who received a severe wound at this place:—

“Innes’ House was situated at the extreme end of the intrenchments and towards the north of the church. It was regarded as an outpost, and very indifferently protected. On the south side there was a masonry wall six feet high. In

* Major Loughnan was drowned on the 17th February 1876, by the sinking of the S. S. “Strathclyde” in a collision off Dover, when returning to India, after furlough at home.

this post there were a few out-offices and a wooden barricade. On the north there was also a range of out-offices, and here and there bare walls scarcely five feet high. The east of the house almost faced the Residency. There was no cannon at this post, but one was obtained for three days with the permission of the Brigadier General, and directed towards the enemy's post, near the Iron Bridge, which did considerable damage to the house as well as the Residency building. But our gun only served to increase the fire of the enemy, and the General ordered it to be withdrawn, as the post was greatly exposed, and it was feared the enemy might attempt to take possession of it. The 20th July was a memorable day to the beleaguered garrison, as on that day the enemy made a most desperate attack (see page 41).

"They sprang a mine at the Redan Battery, which was the signal for a general attack that lasted the whole day. About 2,000 of the enemy assembled towards Innes' post, which they endeavoured to storm, making every effort to burn down the barricade, but we kept up a galling fire from the out-offices and shot several of the leading men when they were compelled to retire. Our loss, on that occasion, in killed and wounded, was about four; and it was fortunate we were protected by the out-offices, or the casualties on our side would have been far greater. The Brigadier General was so pleased with our exertions that he came to the post and thanked us in person. There was another sharp attack on the 12th August, and afterwards on two or three occasions, but nothing compared to the desperate assault of 20th July."

Z i.—RESIDENCY LOWER GARDEN.

This was abandoned on the 1st of July as untenable, with tents standing, and 200 unmounted guns of the late king. It was a sort of neutral territory during the siege, until occupied again after Havelock's entry. On bringing in the ammunition from Muchee Bhawun, the powder was buried here, but owing to a stack of *bhoosa* having caught fire in its neighbourhood, and the enemy occupying the houses on the far side of the garden, it was thought best to remove it into the Begum Kothie, where it was placed in the tykhana, heavy beams being laid over the floor to keep it safe (see page 28, para 45).

NOTE.—The annexed plan of the Residency shews the position of the places described, as indicated by corresponding letters of the alphabet being affixed thereto, but it may be necessary to point out that this differs from the order laid down in the Revd. Mr. Moore's book and model.



FROM THE HOMEWARD MAIL-

A complete nominal list of the European members, including women and children, of the Lucknow Garrison.

A.

Abbott, Mrs. and child (*child dead*).
Aitken, Lieut. and Quartermaster, 13th Native Infantry, and wife.
Alexander, Clare, 1st Lieut. Artillery (*killed*).
Alexander, J., 2nd Lieut. Artillery (*wounded*).
Allnut, Clerk in Bank ; wife (*dead*), and four children (*one dead*).
Alone, A., Mr. (*wounded*), Innes' Outpost, and sister.
Alone, B., Uncovenanted Service, Innes' Outpost, and mother (*wounded*).
Anderson, Major, Civil Engineers (*dead*).
Anderson, 25th Native Infantry ; wife (*dead*), and two children (*one child dead*).
Anderson, J. C., Lieutenant Engineers.
Anderson, Mrs., Dr.
Anthony, David, Uncovenanted Service, Financial Garrison.
Apthorp, Major, 41st Native Infantry ; wife and child (*child dead*).
Archer, Mr. G., (Martiniere) ; wife and two children.
Arno, Miss.
Arthur, Lieutenant, 7th Light Cavalry (*killed*).

B.

Baptist, Ellis, Volunteer.
Baptist, Peter, Volunteer.
Baptist, Adam, Volunteer, (*wounded*.)
Bailey, G. (*wounded*).
Balley, Mrs., and two children.
Banks, Major, Provisional Chief Commissioner (*killed*); wife and child.
Barbor, Adjutant, 2nd Oudh Cavalry (*killed*), and wife.
Barfoot, Mrs.
Barlow, Captain, Brigade Major, Oudh Irregular Force (*dead*), and wife.
Barnett, Mrs., and child.
Barrett, Uncovenanted Service (*dead*) ; wife and three children (*one child dead*).
Barry, Mr., Uncovenanted Service.
Barsotelli, Signor, of Calcutta.
Bartrum, Mrs., and child (*child dead*).
Barwell, Lieutenant, Fort Adjutant, Major of Brigade ; wife and child.
Bassano, Captain, Her Majesty's 32nd (*wounded*).
Bates, A., Uncovenanted Service, and wife.
Bax, Lieutenant, Second in Command, 1st Oudh Cavalry (*killed*) in district).
Baxter, Uncovenanted Service (*dead*) ; wife and three children (*one child dead*).

- Beale, Uncovenanted Service (*killed*) ; wife and two children (*all dead*).
 Bell, Overseer, wife and child ; mother-in-law (*killed*).
 Benson, Mr., Deputy Commissioner ; wife and child (*child dead*).
 Bernard, Rev., Fr. R. C. Chaplain.
 Best, Uncovenanted Service, Judicial Garrison ; wife and child (*child dead*).
 Bickers, Uncovenanted Service (*wounded*) ; wife and three children.
 Birch, F. W., Lieutenant, 71st, Aide-de-Camp (*slightly wounded*).
 Birch, Mr., H. H., Uncovenanted Service, and Miss Birch.
 Birch, Lieutenant, 59th Native Infantry (*killed*), and wife.
 Bird, Dr., Assistant Surgeon.
 Bird, Major, 48th Native Infantry.
 Bird, Mrs., and two children (*one child dead*).
 Blaney, P., Sagos' Garrison (*wounded*).
 Blaney, C., Bhoosa Garrison (*wounded*), Uncovenanted Service ; wife and nephew.
 Blenman, Uncovenanted Service (*wounded*), and mother.
 Blunt, Clerk, Judicial Garrison, and wife.
 Blythe, Uncovenanted Service ; wife and child (*child dead*).
 Boileau, Mrs., and four children (*one dead*).
 Boileau, Captain, T. F., 7th Light Cavalry, 2nd in Command Volunteer Corps (*wounded*) ; wife and two children.
 Bonham, 2nd Lieut. Artillery (*wounded four times*).
 Boulderson, Mr., Assistant Commissioner (*slightly wounded*).
 Boulton, Lieutenant, 2nd Light Cavalry (*killed in district*).
 Bowhear, Miss.
 Boyd, Assistant-Surgeon, 32nd Regiment.
 Brackenbury, Lieutenant, 32nd Regiment (*killed*).
 Brandoff, Mrs.
 Brett, Mrs., and child (*child dead*).
 Brown, C., Clerk, Sagos' Garrison (*killed*).
 Brown, J., Clerk, Anderson's Garrison (*killed*).
 Brown, W., Uncovenanted Service, and wife.
 Brown, Apprentice, Her Majesty's 32nd (*wounded*).
 Browne, Oswin, Uncovenanted Service (*dead*), and wife.
 Browne, G., Lieutenant, 32nd Regiment (*wounded*).
 Browne, Miss.
 Bruere, Major, 13th Native Infantry (*killed*) ; wife and four children.
 Burmester, Captain, 48th Native Infantry (*killed in district*).
 Bryce, 2nd Lieutenant Artillery (*wounded, since dead*).
 Brydon, Surgeon, 71st Native Infantry (*wounded*) ; wife and two children.
 Bryson, Alexander, Uncovenanted Service, Sagos' Garrison (*killed*) ; wife and four children (*one child dead*).
 Burnett, Mrs., and child.

C.

- Cameron, of Allahabad (*dead*).
 Cameron, Mr., R., of Calcutta (*dead*).
 Campagnac, C., Uncovenanted Service ; wife and daughter.
 Campagnac, Lieut., late King's Service ; wife and daughter.

Campbell, W., Ensign, 71st Native Infantry.
 Campbell, C. W., Lieut., 71st Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Campbell, Surgeon, 7th Light Cavalry (*killed*).
 Cane, Mrs., and three children.
 Capper, Mr., Civil Service, Deputy Commissioner.
 Carnegie, Capt., Provost-Marshal.
 Case, Lieut.-Col., 32nd Regiment of Foot (*killed*); wife and sister.
 Casey, Uncovenanted Service (*dead*); wife and five children, (*one child dead*).
 Catania, C., Volunteer.
 Catania, T., Uncovenanted Service, and mother.
 Chambers, Lieut., Adjutant 13th Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Charlton, Ensign, 32nd Regiment (*wounded*).
 Chrestien, Uncovenanted Service, and wife.
 Clancey, Mrs., and two children.
 Chick, late Sub-Editor of "Central Star," Judicial Garrison; wife and two children (*one child dead*).
 Clancey, Uncovenanted Service, Judicial Garrison, (*killed*).
 Clarke, Stanley, Lieut., First Oudh Infantry and wife.
 Clarke, Mrs., and child (*both dead*).
 Clarke, J. Longueville, Lieutenant, Second in Command, 2nd Oudh Irregular Infantry (*killed in district*).
 Clarke, Miss.
 Clery, Lieutenant, Her Majesty's 32nd.
 Collins, Mr., R. M., Uncovenanted Service, Civil Dispensary, wife and child (*both dead*).
 Collins, W., Assistant to Mr. F. Duprat.
 Connell, Mrs., and child.
 Cook, Lieut. 32nd Regiment (*wounded*).
 Cook, Mrs., and four children (*one child dead*).
 Couper, Mr., G., Civil Service, Secretary to Chief Commissioner; wife and three children.
 Court, Mrs., (Sergt.) and two children.
 Crabb, Uncovenanted Service (*killed*).
 Crank, Mr., W. (Martiniere).
 Crowley, T., Bandsman, King's Service.
 Cubitt, Lieut., 13th Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Cunliffe, 2nd Lieutenant Artillery (*killed*).
 Cunliffe, Mr., Civil Service (*killed in district*).
 Curtain, Mrs., and three children.
 Curwan, Mrs., and child.

D.

Dacosta, Mrs.
 Dallicott, Hospital Apprentice, Her Majesty's 32nd (*killed*).
 Darby, Assistant Surgeon, 10th Oudh Infantry.
 Darrah, Lieutenant, 41st Native Infantry; wife and two children.
 Dashwood, Lieutenant, 48th Native Infantry (*dead*); wife and three children (*one child dead*).
 Dashwood, Ensign, 18th Native Infantry (*killed*).
 Duprat, Mr. F., Merchant (*killed*).

Derozario, Mrs.
 De Verrine, Mr. (Martiniere).
 Dera Vara, Mr. (Martiniere); wife and child.
 Dias, M., Uncovenanted Service, and wife.
 Dinning, Captain, 71st Native Infantry.
 Dodd, Mr. C., (Martiniere).
 Donnithorne, Uncovenanted Service, Financial Garrison; wife and two children (*one child dead*).
 Dorin, Mrs. (*killed*).
 Dorrett, R., Uncovenanted Service, Financial Garrison.
 Dubois, H. Uncovenanted Service, and wife.
 Dudman, E., Uncovenanted Service; mother, wife, and three children (*two children dead*).
 Duffy, Mrs., and child.
 Duhan, Mr., Volunteer.

E.

Edgell, Captain, Military Secretary; wife and one child.
 Edmonstone, Lieutenant, 32nd Regiment (*wounded*).
 Eldridge, Riding Master, 7th Light Cavalry (*killed*).
 Ereth, Mr., Railway Contractor (*killed*); and wife (*wounded*).
 Evans, Mrs. (*dead*).
 Ewart, Clerk, Judicial Garrison.

F.

Farquhar, Lieutenant, 7th Light Cavalry (*wounded*).
 Farquharson, Lieutenant, 48th Native Infantry (*killed*).
 Fayrer, Mr., Volunteer, Oudh Irregular Force (*killed*).
 Fayrer, Assistant Surgeon, (Residency Surgeon); wife and child.
 Fernandes, Uncovenanted Service.
 Fitzgerald, W. E., Uncovenanted Service; wife, mother, and three children (*one child dead*).
 Fitzgerald, Mrs., and child.
 Fletcher, Lieutenant, 48th Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Forbes, Captain, 1st Oudh Cavalry (*slightly wounded*); wife and three children (*two children dead*).
 Forbes (Uncovenanted Service), and mother.
 Forder, W., Mr., Postmaster, Post Office Garrison.
 Forester, Clerk (*wounded*).
 Foster, Lieutenant, 32nd Regiment (*wounded*).
 Francis, Major R. B., Commanding Muchee Bhawun (*killed*).
 French, Uncovenanted Service.
 Fullerton, Lieutenant, 44th Native Infantry (*dead*); wife and child (*child dead*).
 Fulton, Captain, Garrison Engineer (*killed*).

G.

Gabriel, Uncovenanted Service; wife and three children.
 Gall, Major, 2nd Oudh Cavalry (*killed*), and wife.
 Gamboa (*deserted*), and mother.

Gardner, Miss (*wounded*).
 Garland, Mr. R., Uncovenanted Service, Extra Assistant Commissioner (*dead*); wife and child.
 Garrett, Mrs., and two children.
 Germon, Captain, 13th Native Infantry, and wife.
 Giddings, Paymaster, 32nd Regiment, and wife.
 Gordon, Mr. J., Uncovenanted Service, Judicial Garrison; wife and two children.
 Graham, Lieutenant, Adjutant 1st Oudh Cavalry (*dead*); wife, & two children (*one child dead*).
 Graham, Lieutenant, 3rd Oudh Irregular Cavalry (*wounded*).
 Grant, Lieutenant, 71st Native Infantry (*killed*).
 Grant, Lieutenant, Bombay Army, 2nd in command, 5th Oudh Infantry (*killed*); wife and child (*both dead*).
 Grant, Mrs., Sergeant.
 Graves, Lieutenant, 41st Native Infantry (*dead*).
 Gray, Brigadier, Oudh Irregular Force.
 Graydon, Lieutenant, Commanding 7th Oudh Infantry (*killed*).
 Green, Captain, 48th Native Infantry, and wife (*wife dead*).
 Green, Ensign, 13th Native Infantry (*dead*).
 Greenhow, Assistant-Surgeon, Oudh Irregular Force.
 Griffiths, Mrs., Sergeant, and three children.
 Gubbins, Mr. M. R., Financial Commissioner, and wife.

H.

Hadow, Surgeon, 5th Oudh Infantry.
 Hale, Mrs., and child (*both dead*).
 Halford, Colonel, 71st Native Infantry (*dead*); wife and daughter.
 Hamilton, W., wife and three children (*two children dead*).
 Hampton, Miss.
 Handscombe, Brigadier, Commanding Oudh Brigade (*killed*).
 Hardinge, Lieutenant, Oudh Irregular Force, Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General (*wounded*).
 Hardingham, F., Uncovenanted Service, and mother.
 Harmer, Lieutenant, 32nd Regiment (*wounded*).
 Harris, Rev. H. P., Assistant Chaplain, and wife.
 Hawes, Captain, 5th Oudh Infantry (*wounded*).
 Hay, Lieutenant, 48th Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Hayes, Captain Fletcher, Military Secretary (*killed*); wife and child.
 Hearsey, Captain W., Oudh M. Police.
 Hely, Veterinary Surgeon, 7th Light Cavalry (*killed*).
 Hembro, Uncovenanted Service; wife and three children.
 Hernon, Mrs., and four children.
 Hewitt, Ensign, 41st Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Higgins, Apothecary, Her Majesty's 32nd; wife (*dead*) and two sisters.
 Hill, Mr. James, (Merchant).
 Hilton, Mr. William, (Martiniere); wife and two children.
 Hoff, Edward, Uncovenanted Service, Sagos' Garrison; wife and child (*child dead*).

Horan, Mrs. (*killed*), and three children (*one child dead*).
 Horn, Mrs., and three children.
 Howard, B.
 Hughes, Capt., 4th Oudh Infantry (*killed*).
 Hutchinson, Lieut., Aide-de-camp (General Staff).
 Hutton, Uncovenanted Service.
 Huxham, Lieut., 48th Native Infantry (*wounded*); wife and two children (*one child dead*).
 Hyde, Apothecary (*wounded*); wife and two children.

I.

Ideodatus, Rev. Fr., R. C. Chaplain.
 Inglis, Brigadier, Commanding Garrison; wife and three children.
 Inglis, H., Lieutenant, 41st Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Inglis, Ensign, 63rd Native Infantry.
 Innes, McLeod, Lieutenant Engineers.
 Ireland, G., Uncovenanted Service; wife and child.
 Ireland, W.

J.

James, Lieutenant, Deputy-Assistant-Commissary-General (*wounded*).
 Jeoffroy, Mr., of Calcutta.
 Johannes, Merchant; wife and child.
 Johnson, Uncovenanted Service.
 Jones, Uncovenanted Service, and wife.
 Jones, T. E. (*deserted*).
 Joseph, Mrs., and three children.
 Joyce, M., Uncovenanted Service, Judicial Garrison; wife and child.
 Joyce, R., Uncovenanted Service, Judicial Garrison.

K.

Kavanagh, H., Uncovenanted Service; wife and four children (*one child dead*).
 Keir, Lieutenant, 41st Native Infantry.
 Kemble, Captain, 41st Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Kendall, Mrs., and child (*child dead*).
 Kennedy, Mrs. and Miss.
 Keogh, Mrs., (Sergt.) and five children (*three children dead*).
 Kight, Mr. Fitz-Herbert, Editor of "Central Star;" Local Sergeant, Financial Garrison.
 Kingsley, Mrs., Sergeant, and four children.

L.

Langmore, Lieutenant Adjutant, 71st Native Infantry.
 Lawrence, Sir H. M., Brigadier-General and Chief Commissioner of Oudh, K.C.B. (*killed*).
 Lawrence, Mr., Civil Service, Deputy Commissioner (*wounded*).
 Lawrence, Lieutenant, H. M. 32nd.
 Lawrence, John, Uncovenanted Service; wife and two children (*one child dead*).
 Leach, Mr. F., Civil Apothecary, Civil Dispensary.

Leslie, Uncovenanted Service, and wife.
 Lester, Lieutenant, 32nd Native Infantry (*killed*).
 Lewin, 2nd Lieutenant (*killed*) ; wife and two children.
 Lincoln, Uncovenanted Service ; wife and child.
 Longden, Mrs. (Sergeant).
 Longton, Mrs. and child.
 Loughnan, Lieutenant, 13th Native Infantry.
 Lowe, Major, Commanding 32nd Regiment (*wounded*).
 Luxted, Pensioner, Uncovenanted Service, wife and daughter.
 Lynch, Mrs. (Sergeant), and child.

M.

Mahar, Mrs. (Sergeant), and two children.
 Mansfield, Captain, Her Majesty's 32nd (*dead*).
 Manton, Mrs. (Sergeant).
 Marley, Mrs. and child.
 Marriott, Major, Pension Paymaster, and wife.
 Marshall, W., Opium Contractor (*killed*), and wife.
 Marshall, Miss.
 Marshall, J. Mr., Supervisor, Post Office ; wife and child.
 Martin, Lieutenant, 7th Light Cavalry (*killed*).
 Martin Mr., Deputy Commissioner ; wife and two children (*dead*).
 Martin, Bandmaster, P. O., and wife.
 Martiniere College, sixty-five boys (*two wounded and two dead*).
 Master, Lieutenant-Colonel, 7th Light Cavalry.
 May, W., Uncovenanted Service, Engineering Department.
 McAuliff, Uncovenanted Service (*killed*).
 McCabe, Captain, Her Majesty's 32nd Foot (*killed*).
 McDonald, Surgeon, 4th Native Infantry (*dead*).
 McDonnough, Mrs., and two children.
 McFarlane, 2nd Lieutenant Artillery (*wounded*).
 McGrath, Ensign, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.
 McGregor, Ensign, 41st Native Infantry (*dead*).
 McGrennan, Uncovenanted Service, (Civil Dispensary), and wife.
 McLean, Captain, 71st Native Infantry (*killed*).
 Macmanus, Uncovenanted Service (*killed*).
 Mecham, Lieutenant, Adjutant 7th Oudh Infantry.
 Mendes, Uncovenanted Service (*killed*), and wife (*dead*).
 Miller, Mrs., and four children.
 Mitchell, Uncovenanted Service.
 Molly, Mrs., and five children.
 Morgan, J. J., Uncovenanted Service, Artillery (*wounded*), and wife.
 Morton, Mrs., and child (*child dead*).
 Morton, Mrs., and two children (*both children dead*).

N.

Nazareth, M., Uncovenanted Service ; wife (*dead*), and two children.
 Need, Captain, W. W., Merchant, (*killed*) ; wife and three children.
 Nepean, Miss.
 Nugent, Mrs., Senior.
 Nugent, Mrs., Junior, and three children.

O.

O'Brien, Lieutenant, Her Majesty's 84th (*wounded*).
 O'Dowda, Ensign, 48th Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Ogilvie, Surgeon, Sanitary Commissioner, and wife.
 Oliver, Overseer, Magazine (*wounded*) ; wife and two children.
 Ommaney, Mr., Judicial Commissioner (*killed*), and wife.
 Ommaney, two Misses.
 Orr, Adolphe, Captain, Oudh Military Police ; wife and child.
 Ouseley, Lieutenant, 48th Native Infantry ; wife and three children
 (*two dead*).
 Overitt, Apothecary, 32nd Regiment.
 Overitt, R., Jun., Apprentice, Hospital 32nd Regiment.
 Owen,—,Uncovenanted Service.
 Owen, Alfred.

P.

Palmer, Lieutenant-Colonel, 48th Native Infantry, and daughter
 (*daughter killed*).
 Parry, Secretary to the Delhi Bank ; wife and four children.
 Partridge, Assistant Surgeon, Oudh Irregular Force.
 Pearce, Uncovenanted Service, Artillery ; wife and two children.
 Pedron, Mrs.
 Pelling, Mrs.
 Peters, Mrs.
 Peters, J., Bandmaster, (*killed*).
 Peuder, Mrs., and four children.
 Pew, (Senior), Uncovenanted Service, and wife.
 Pew, A., (Junior), Uncovenanted Service ; wife and four children (*two*
 dead).
 Phillips, Uncovenanted Service, Judicial Garrison, and wife.
 Phillips, W., Uncovenanted Service ; wife and child.
 Pidgeon, Uncovenanted Service, Judicial Garrison (*killed*), and wife.
 Pitt, Surgeon, 13th Native Infantry, and wife.
 Polehampton, Rev. H. S., Assistant Chaplain (*dead*), and wife.
 Potter, Clerk, Judicial Garrison.
 Power, Captain, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment (*killed*).
 Purcell, Mrs., and child.

Q.

Queiros, F., Uncovenanted Service ; wife and child.
 Queiros, E., Junior, Uncovenanted Service.
 Queiros, A.
 Radcliffe, Captain, 7th Light Cavalry, Commanding Volunteer Corps
 (*killed*) ; wife and three children (*one child dead*).

R.

Rae, Pleader, (*wounded*), and wife.
 Raleigh, Cornet, 7th Light Cavalry (*killed*).
 Ramsay, Telegraph Office (*killed*), and wife.

Rees, L. E., Mr., of Calcutta, Innes' Outpost.
 Reilly, Mrs., and child (*child dead*).
 Rennick, Mrs.
 Roberts, Miss.
 Roberts, H. J., Bandmaster, 48th Native Infantry, (*killed*).
 Robinson, Miss.
 Rodgers, Miss.
 Routleff, W., Artillery ; wife and child.
 Ruggles, Lieutenant, 41st Native Infantry, and wife.
 Rutledge, Uncovenanted Service (*wounded*) ; wife and two children.
 Ryder, Mrs., (Sergt.)

S.

Sago, Mrs., School Mistress.
 Samson, Mrs.
 Sanders, Capt., 41st Native Infantry.
 Sangster, Uncovenanted Service ; sister, wife, and two children.
 Savaille, Miss.
 Schilling, G., Mr., (Principal Martiniere) and sister.
 Schmidt, R. (*wounded, since dead*).
 Scott, Surgeon, 32nd Regiment.
 Scott, Mrs. and child (*child dead*).
 Sewell, Lieut., 71st Native Infantry.
 Sequera, J., (Senior) Uncovenanted Service, and wife (*wife killed*).
 Sequera, Edwin, Uncovenanted Service (*killed*), and sister.
 Sequera, H., Uncovenanted Service.
 Sequera, C., Bhoosa Garrison, (*wounded*).
 Sexton, Mrs.
 Shepherd, Lieut., 2nd in Command, 2nd Oudh Cavalry (*killed*).
 Simons, Capt., Artillery (*killed*).
 Sinclair, J., Merchant (*wounded*), and mother.
 Sinclair, Pensioner.
 Smith, Adjutant, 48th Native Infantry, (*wounded*).
 Smith, Mrs., and three children.
 Soppitt, Lieut., 4th Oudh Infantry, and wife.
 Soule, J.
 Staples, Capt., 7th Light Cavalry (*killed*), and wife.
 Stevens, Capt., Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, (*killed*) ; wife and daughter.
 Strangways, Capt., 71st (*wounded slightly*) ; wife and four children (*one child dead*).
 Stribling, Quarter-Master, 32nd Regiment.
 Stuart, Capt., 3rd Native Infantry ; wife and child.
 Studdy, Ensign, 32nd Regiment, (*killed*).
 Sullivan, Hospital Steward, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment.
 Swaries (*wounded*) ; wife and three children.
 Symes, Mr., W., Anderson's Garrison.

T.

Thaine, Lieutenant, 13th Native Infantry.
 Thomas, 1st Lieutenant, Artillery, Madras ; wife (*dead*) and child.

Thompson, Apothecary, Acting Assistant Surgeon, Oudh Irregular Force ; wife and three children.
 Thornhill, Mr., Assistant Commissioner, (*killed*) ; wife and child (*child dead*).
 Thriepeland, Clerk, Judicial Garrison (*wounded*).
 Todd, Clerk, Judicial Garrison ; wife and child.
 Tulloch, Lieutenant, 58th Native Infantry, Engineering Department.
 Twitchem, Mrs.

V.

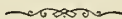
Vanrenen, Lieutenant, 2nd in Command, 9th Oudh Infantry.
 Veloze, Clerk, Uncovenanted Service ; wife and sister.
 Vaughan, Uncovenanted Service (*wounded, since dead*) ; wife and child.
 Virtue, Mrs. and Miss.

W.

Wall, Mr. J., Martiniere (*wounded*).
 Ward, Ensign, 48th Native Infantry.
 Ward, Uncovenanted Service.
 Warner, Lieutenant, 7th Light Cavalry.
 Waterman, Captain, 13th Native Infantry (*wounded*).
 Watson, widow of Sergeant Watson, and child.
 Watson, Lieutenant, 2nd in Command, 7th Oudh Irregular Infantry ; wife and child.
 Webb, P. C., Lieutenant, 32nd Regiment (*killed*).
 Wells, Surgeon, 48th Native Infantry (*wounded slightly*) ; wife and child.
 Wells, Uncovenanted Service (*killed*) ; wife and child.
 Weston, Captain, 65th Native Infantry, Oudh Military Police.
 Wharton, J., Clerk, Sagos' Garrison.
 Wilkinson, Mrs. (*dead*).
 Williams, F., Clerk, Sagos' Garrison ; wife and two children.
 Williams, St. Clare, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Sagos' Garrison.
 Wilson, T. F., Captain, Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General (*wounded slightly*).
 Wiltshire, Uncovenanted Service (*dead*).
 Wittenbaker, (Senior), Uncovenanted Service, Financial Garrison ; wife and eight children.
 Wittenbaker, (Junior) (*killed*), Financial Garrison.
 Woods, widow of Sergeant Woods, and three children (*one child dead*).
 Worsley, Ensign, 71st Native Infantry.

Y.

Yerbury, Commissariat Department ; wife and two children.



Distances and fares, by Rail, with luggage rates, from Lucknow to the unmentioned stations:—

Number.	STATIONS.	Via.	Distance in Miles.	F A R E S.				Remarks.	R A T E S F O R L U G G A G E.			
				1st Class.	2nd Class.	Inter- mediate Class.	3rd Class.		10 Seers.	20 Seers.	30 Seers.	One Maud.
Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
1	Allahabad	..	106	14 2	7 1	3 12	2 3	...	0 8	1 0	1 8	2 0
2	Agra	..	205	17 13	8 14	4 11	2 11	...	0 8	1 0	1 8	2 0
3	Amritsar	..	608	46 1	23 1	11 12	7 11	...	1 4	2 8	3 12	5 0
4	Do.	..	542	23 14	17 0	10 3	6 15	...	1 0	2 0	3 0	4 0
5	Bombay (Colaba)	..	1063	70 3	35 1	15 1	11 8	...	1 12	3 8	5 4	7 0
6	Do.	..	1010	74 0	37 0	18 12	13 3	Mail train fare has been charged over G. I. P. Railway and I. M. Railway on Intermediate Class fares.	1 12	3 8	5 4	7 0
7	Do.	..	885	55 5	27 11	14 1	11 8		1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
8	Calcutta (Howrah)	..	730	67 0	33 8	17 0	9 9		1 4	2 8	3 12	5 0
9	Do.	..	678	57 1	28 9	15 6	8 14		1 4	2 8	3 12	5 0
10	Delhi	..	317	28 5	14 2	7 5	4 2	...	12 0	1 3	2 4	3 0
11	Do.	..	329	23 1	11 8	7 1	4 0	...	0 12	1 8	2 4	3 0
12	Jhansi	..	183	11 7	5 12	3 1	2 8	Mail train fare over I. M. Railway has been charged for Intermediate Class.	0 8	1 0	1 8	2 0
13	Kathgodam, (Naini Tal)	..	213	19 2	14 9	8 1	3 6		0 8	1 0	1 9	2 0
14	Lahore	..	640	48 1	24 1	12 4	8 0		1 4	2 8	3 12	5 0
15	Do.	..	575	35 15	18 0	10 12	7 5		1 0	2 0	3 0	4 0
16	Meerut Cantonment	..	335	29 0	14 9	7 8	4 7	...	0 12	1 8	2 4	3 0
17	Do.	..	405	25 5	12 11	8 1	5 4	...	0 12	1 8	2 4	3 0
18	Meeran Meer East	..	637	47 14	24 0	12 3	7 15	...	1 4	2 8	3 12	5 0
19	Do.	..	572	35 12	17 15	10 11	7 5	...	1 0	2 0	3 0	4 0

Distances and Fares, by Rail, with luggage rates, from Lucknow to the undermentioned Stations:—(Contd.)

Number.	STATIONS.	Via.	Distance in miles.	F A R E S.				Remarks.	RATES FOR LUGGAGE.			
				1st Class.	2nd Class.	Inter-mediate Class.	3rd Class.		10 Seers.	20 Seers.	30 Seers.	One Maund.
20	Mooltan Cantonment	..	848	Rs. A. 61 1	Rs. A. 30 9	Rs. A. 15 8	Rs. A. 10 3	....	Rs. A. 1 8	Rs. A. 3 0	Rs. A. 4 8	Rs. A. 6 0
21	Do.	..	783	48 15	24 8	14 0	9 8	....	1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
22	Nagpur	..	978	72 0	36 0	17 10	12 13	....	1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
23	Do.	..	921	79 13	37 10	17 9	10 14	....	1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
24	Do.	..	852	53 4	26 11	12 15	11 1	....	1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
25	Peshawar Cantonment	..	850	53 4	26 11	15 1	10 4	....	1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
26	Do.	..	918	65 7	32 12	16 10	10 14	....	1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
27	Do.	..	930	60 3	30 2	16 6	10 12	....	1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
28	Quetta	..	1434	102 9	51 5	25 14	17 10	....	2 11	5 8	8 4	11 0
29	Do.	..	1369	90 7	45 4	24 6	17 0	....	2 12	5 8	8 4	11 0
30	Rawalpindi	..	748	46 12	23 7	13 7	9 2	....	1 4	2 8	3 12	5 0
31	Do.	..	813	58 14	29 8	14 15	9 13	....	1 8	3 0	4 8	6 0
32	Sailkote Cantonment	..	731	53 12	26 15	13 11	8 15	....	1 4	2 8	3 12	5 0
33	Do.	..	665	41 9	20 13	12 2	8 5	....	1 4	2 8	3 12	5 0
34	Umballa	..	382	24 4	12 3	7 13	5 1	....	0 12	1 8	2 4	3 0
35	Do.	..	453	36 6	18 4	9 5	5 12	....	1 0	2 0	3 0	4 0

NOTE.—The free allowance of Luggage to 1st Class Passengers is 1 maund 20 seers; 2nd Class 30 seers; Intermediate 20 seers; 3rd Class 15 seers.

Third class passengers, by Mail Trains, over G. I. P. Railway, are charged at Mail Train Fares.

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- Places not described in Book.
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NOTE: To find the above places on the Map, first find the square corresponding with that on the right, in this type, then look for the number in the square noted on the left. Of these, 1 to 41 are described in Part IV of the Guide, including also those which are not shown in the Map as it is out of Commission limits.



SKELETON MAP OF LUCKNOW, SHEWING THE PRINCIPAL ROADS AND BUILDINGS, DESCRIBED IN PART IV OF THE TOURISTS' GUIDE.

SCALE 4 INCHES=1 MILE.

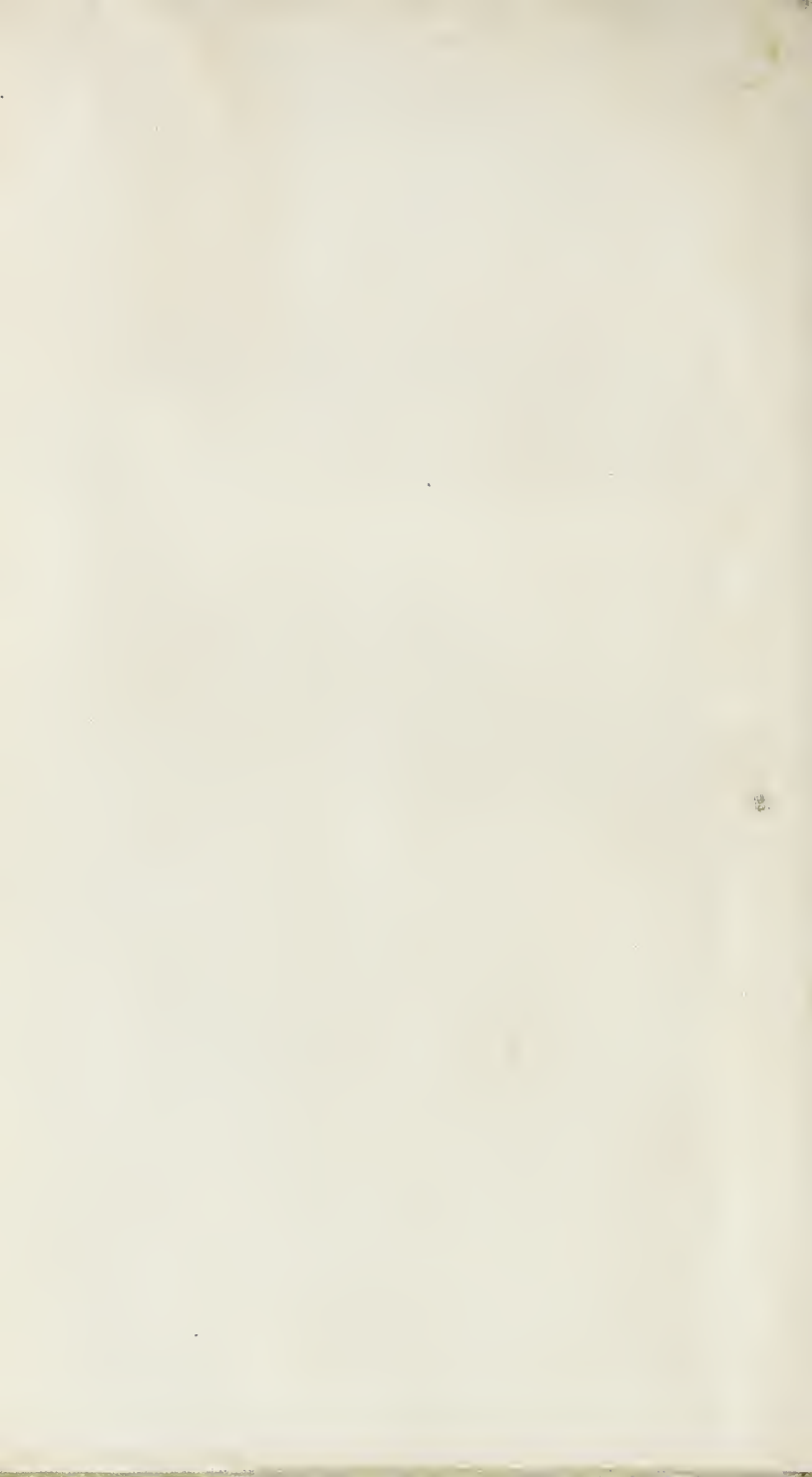
(Corrected up to 30th June 1891)



The dotted line shows the route of retreat of the Garrison from the Residency after the final relief by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell.

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1x 1857.



Line of defence shown by a thick line, thus—

Guns—

Mortars—

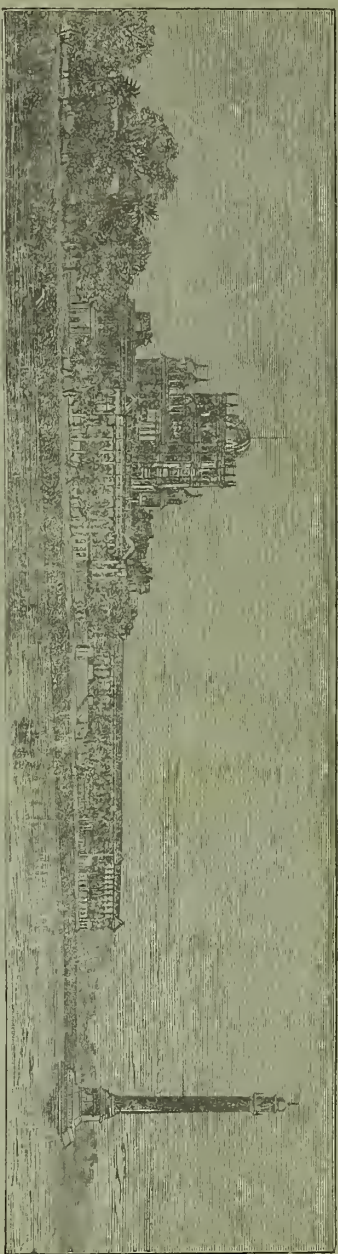
ENEMY'S BOOLUND BAGH
BATTERY

Scale 300 Feet to an Inch.

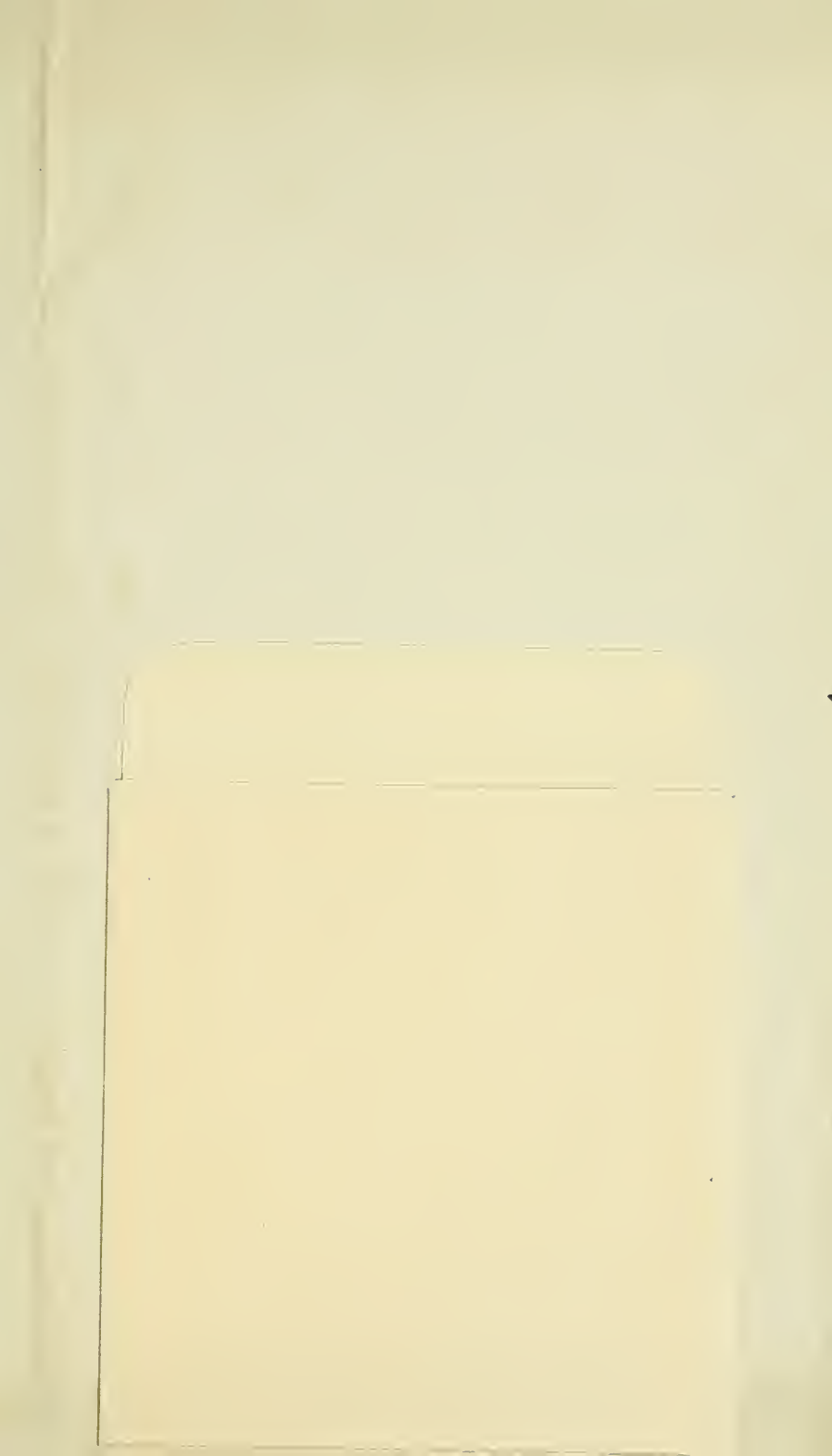


T. W. HILTON
1891





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